

The Christian Statesman

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The Outlook

The Gazette-Times of Pittsburgh, whose editorials on moral themes often take high rank, in a recent issue contained an editorial on the Bible under the caption: "The Best Seller." We quote the first paragraph of the editorial:

The one "best seller" among books continues to be the Bible. If it were true, as asserted by some discouraged ones, that the war proves the outworn nature of scriptural teachings, this would scarcely be the case. The sales of the Bible are not merely holding their own; they are increasing at a marvelous rate. At the annual meet- of the American Bible Society a total sale of 6,370,465 volumes was reported. This was a gain of 1,119,289 for the year. Hitherto Turkey and Mexico have been leading fields for distribution. They have been closed for a considerable period to the society's representatives. But an immense number of copies of the Bible have been furnished to soldiers on the European firing lines. The distributors have been especially active in China, Japan, India and the Philippines.

It is encouraging to read such words in the daily press. Christian civilization, and there is no other kind, is due to the principles of the Word of God. The Bible is the hope of the world. It is a book not only for the Sabbath but for the week-day; not only for the church, but for the forum, the market, and the school. It concerns every relationship among men; every phase of human activity and responsibility. It

is a book for this earth as well as a guide to heaven. It is preeminently for the present, the hard knocks and hard problems about us right here and now. It teaches right living rather than safe dying. It points not only to a heaven of bliss but to a redeemed earth. It is a book not only for the church but for the kingdom and the world. It relates not merely to the individual but to society and the nation. It is a compass for the ship of state. It has much to say concerning the responsibility of nations and rulers. It contains laws for every right institution, and for man in every sphere of action. The editor of the article partly quoted in the preceding paragraph says: "Those who buy the Bible, or eagerly receive it without price at the hands of distributors, do so in order to read it and profit by the counsel and inspiration it affords;" and he closes his remarks with the important words: "The Bible remains the greatest of guide-books for perplexed and suffering humanity."



Few events in recent years have so aroused the American people as the sinking of the Lusitania, said to have been "the largest and finest British merchant ship engaged in Transatlantic traffic." The

loss of the Titanic was just as tragic an event in itself, but the latter had no such international significance. On Friday afternoon, May 7, off the

southern coast of Ireland the Lusitania, a passenger vessel, with 2,104 persons on board, was torpedoed, without warning, and sank in less than a half hour. Over one thousand persons were lost, and over one hundred of these were American citizens. The vessel was not armed, but carried quantities of war material, among which were 5,471 cases of ammunition. Warning had been given before the vessel started. Prominent passengers had received telegrams signed with fictitious names, asserting that the vessel would be torpedoed, and advising them to cancel their passages. On the day the vessel left New York a notice was published in the city papers, signed "Imperial German Embassy," and warning transatlantic passengers that they would at their own risk enter the war zone on ships of England or her allies.



This tragic event is only one of a number of recent deeds, performed by the Germans, that have served to awaken deep feeling, and much indignation, on the part of the American people. The sinking of an American vessel, the William P. Frye, the lecture administered to our country by Ambassador von Bernstorff on neutrality, the sinking of the Falaba, a British passenger ship, occasioning the death of an American, Mr. Thrasher, the attack on the Cushing, an American vessel, the torpedoing of the Gulfight, an American ship carrying contraband of war,—all these events being followed by the destruction of the Lusitania with such heavy passenger loss, including so many Americans, have developed in the minds of our people a situation that is not only exceedingly grave, but is

not unmixed with danger. As an illustration of the feeling awakened the case of a professor of German at the University of Rochester may be cited. On the Monday following the sinking of the Lusitania, he declined to teach his classes, explaining to them that under present circumstances he felt unable to do so because of the destruction of the Lusitania. He said he did not feel able to teach the ideals of Goethe and Schiller, so incompatible with present conditions. One of our Pittsburgh religious papers in its indignation goes so far as to assert that Germany "will be known for generations as the nation which, boasting to be the very flower of modern civilization, achieved the distinction, shared by the Boxer and the Zulu, of systematically slaughtering women, children, and non-combatants in execution of her ruthless purpose." The interest manifested is further seen in the fact that thousands of people gathered before daylight outside of the offices of New York papers to secure editions containing the President's communication to Germany. And it is said that over in Bradford, England, a deputation of prominent German residents and business men called on the Lord Mayor a few days after the great vessel was sunk, and handed him a written protest against the "inhuman methods employed by the German government in waging war against non-combatants, including women and children, which have culminated in the sinking of the Lusitania." The German government should see that it has overreached itself in its efforts to achieve victory in this war.



Of course there is a German side to this event, and arguments can be ad-

duced in her defense. Germany claims that England had violated international law. She resents much England's efforts to prevent food stuffs from entering Germany. Her submarine defense is all that she has. She had announced a war zone around England and France. The Lusitania was a British ship. She carried munitions of war. Americans were distinctly warned; and if they took passage on a British vessel and entered the war zone, they did so at their own risk. Germany was not aiming at America, but at England, and is fighting for her own honor, prosperity, and perhaps for her very existence. In reply to such considerations it may be said that the United States on February 10 had notified the German government that we declined to recognize the legality of the decreed war zone, and that for the loss of American property or American lives we would hold Germany to a strict accountability. In the communication from our government to Germany concerning the Lusitania disaster it is asserted that our government "was loath to believe—it cannot now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great government." Apart from the question of legality or custom in international warfare, it seems clear to the mind of a layman in such matters that there can be no justification before the bar of humanity for such terrible deeds as the sinking of the Lusitania. To sink without warning, and when the means of rescue were so limited, a passenger vessel with such a large number of persons, non-combatants, women, and

children, on board is a deed that chills the world with horror and puts its perpetrators in the inhuman category. Let us hope that Germany will not repeat such a deed no matter to what extremities she may think she is driven.



Our esteemed President and his advisers were not slow in handling the trying situation produced by the sinking of the Lusitania.

Our Note to Germany The public awaited with intense interest our government's reply to Ger-

many's action. When it appeared it seemed to meet in remarkable degree the convictions and desires of the people of our nation. It is truly a great state paper, and will rank among the historic utterances of our government. Devoid of chauvinism or braggadocio, it presents with courtesy, clarity, deliberation, forcefulness, and courage, the attitude of the American government. It is neither too weak nor too strong. The following are some of the words of the message:

The government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the Imperial German government with the outmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice and humanity, which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officer of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats.

These facts it is understood the Imperial German government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly submarines cannot be used against our merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German government will disavow the acts of which the government of the United States complains, that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German government have in the past so widely and so firmly contended. * * *

The Imperial German government will not expect the government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

This whole international episode will, notwithstanding the sadness of certain features, be productive of good in different directions. It will increase the detestation of war. It will lead to more humane methods among combatants. It has unified the American people in sentiment, and in support of our government; and since we ourselves have suffered from the war in the loss of such a number of our own citizens, we will feel more keenly the need of peace, and be more alert to take steps as a nation to help bring it about when the opportune hour arrives.

Very serious charges are made against the Germans in the present war in the recent report of a special British com-

Alleged Outrages in the War

mittee of which Viscount Bryce, former English ambassador at Washington was the chairman. This committee was appointed by Premier Asquith to investigate and report on "outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the present war." Men of prominence were on the committee. The following is a summary of the most important findings of the committee:

First—That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by some isolated murders and other outrages.

Second—That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and children murdered.

Third—That looting, house burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German army; that elaborate provision had been made for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burning and destruction were frequently where no military necessity could be alleged, being, indeed, part of a system of general terrorization.

Fourth—That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and white flag.

Various instances are adduced by the committee as proof of their conclusions; and an effort is made to explain the "character and significance of the wrongful acts done by the German

army in Belgium." Attention is called to the locality where the most of the "systematic" outrages are said to have been committed; and it is asserted that murder, rape, arson, and pillage began from the moment when the German army crossed the frontier. The outrages around Liege coincide with the unexpected resistance of the Belgian army in that district. Distinction is drawn between individual acts of brutality and those for which there is a more general responsibility. According to the report, however, the killing in more or less degree, was done according to a deliberate plan, was done under orders at certain places, began at a certain fixed date, and was carried out reluctantly by some of the officers. The question is raised by the committee as to how these acts of terror could have taken place; and it answers, not from mere military license, "for the discipline of the German army is proverbially stringent, and its obedience explicit. Not from any special ferocity of the troops, for whoever has traveled among the German peasantry knows that they are as kindly and good-natured as any people in Europe, and those who can recall the war of 1870 will remember that no charges resembling those proved by these depositions were then established. The excesses recently committed in Belgium were, moreover, too wide-spread and too uniform in their character to be mere sporadic outbursts of passion or rapacity." The explanation in the mind of the committee is that these excesses were committed—sometimes ordered, sometimes allowed—in pursuance of a set purpose to strike terror into the hearts of the people and to dishearten the Belgian troops.

We give space to these most serious charges partly because of the source whence they come. Mr. Bryce is a man of high standing, of intellectual force, and of wide experience. The investigation was carefully made. Many witnesses were examined. Many instances were noted. The committee is willing to place its report before the world. The conclusion seems unavoidable that much of what the committee says is true, and that all of it may be true. Yet this is an hour for weighing testimony. The international situation is tense. This statement comes to us from a partizan source. It may be colored, even unconsciously, by the British committee. There are two sides to most controversies. Atrocities always take place in wars. War is horrible at its best. It cannot be carried on in humane fashion. Individual acts may often be interpreted as official deeds. They often occur under more or less provocation. It is well to hold our opinions somewhat in abeyance till the war is over. If our German friends had not sunk the *Lusitania*, we would be more ready to dismiss such accusations as the above. If these charges are true, they will forever remain a blot on the history of a great nation; but we shall be glad, if when the curtain of war is lifted, we shall find that the dealings with Belgium and the sinking of the *Lusitania* do not represent the great German people as much as they now seem to do.



President Wilson was received with great enthusiasm in connection with the recent naval review at New York.

America's Motives

The occasion illustrated plainly how the people are standing behind him in this hour full of

meaning for our country because of the present tense international situation. In the course of his address the President used these words:

For the interesting and inspiring thing about America is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself. We want no nation's property, we wish to question no nation's honor, we wish to stand selfishly in the way of no nation; we want nothing that we cannot get by our own legitimate enterprise and by the inspiration of our own example and, standing for these things, it is not pretention on our part to say that we are privileged to stand for what every nation would wish to stand for, and speaking for those things which all humanity must desire.

When I think of the flag which those ships carry, the only touch of color about them, the only thing that moves as if it had a settled spirit in it, is their solid structure, it seems to me that I see alternate stripes of parchment upon which are written the right of liberty and justice and strips of blood spilled to vindicate those rights and then, in the corner, a prediction of the blue serene into which every nation may swim which stands for these great things.

These things now brood over the river; this spirit now moves with the men who represent the nation in the navy; these things will move upon the waters in the maneuvers; no threat lifted against any man, against any nation, against any interest, but just a solemn evidence that the force of America is the force of moral principle, that there is not anything else that she loves and that there is not anything else for which she will contend.

These words should appeal not only to sailor and soldier but to all our people. American ideals are high, in a comparative sense at least. Few, if any, nations have as much of the altruistic spirit as our own. Our relations to the Cuban nation show it, and our return to China of indemnity

money illustrates the same fact. We are not striving after the territory of other nations. We want no part of South America or of China, or of Africa. There is much that is high in the character, history, and ideals of the American people. Yet whatever the intention of the President in his address, he voiced not wholly what we are, but also what we ought to be. He expressed what our country is as far as represented by himself and all others of like mind. It is well for our leaders thus to hold high ideals before our people, and it is fortunate that we have such a man as our Chief Magistrate; and also it should be the desire and prayer of every loyal citizen that our great country, which is the leader among all American nations, which may be the mediating nation at the close of the present war, and which can do much for the nation of China in the present strategic hour, shall be moved by Christian motives only, shall avoid all entangling courses of action with other powers, and shall move bravely on in the path of righteousness. That nation only is blessed, has the basis of peace within and without, and is worthy to be a lode star for other nations, whose God is the Lord.



Announcement, according to the press, has been recently made at the headquarters of the World Peace Foundation, of a summer school of international relations to be held at Ithaca, New York, June 15 to 30. The students are to be picked from the members of international political clubs in thirty colleges and theological seminaries, and their expenses are to be paid by the Carnegie Endowment for International

The Study of Politics

Peace and Church Peace Union. The field of politics and statesmanship is a fruitful one for study and of peculiar interest in the present hour. It can be inferred also from the circumstances of the above arrangement that the moral phase of such investigation will be more or less prominent; and it is to be sincerely hoped that such a course of study, undertaken by many who are Christian students, will bring clearly into view the moral character of nations, the relation of the law of God to civil life, and the recognition of the kingship of Jesus in national and international affairs as essential to internal prosperity, the prevention of war, and the right and harmonious adjustment of all international problems and relationships.



Residents of Pittsburgh recently had the privilege of hearing Mr. George Sherwood Eddy, who has done much in and for India and China, speak of the remarkable developments now in progress in the latter country. What he said impressed more clearly and fully upon his hearers the meaning of the vast commercial, political, educational, social, and religious change now going on in this great country, which contains one-fourth of the population of the human race. Mr. Eddy told what he himself had seen and experienced recently in China, and spoke with great power, earnestness, and effectiveness. His statements of conditions and events were like another Acts of the Apostles. The interest manifested in certain places in China, in Christianity, has been indeed extraordinary and promises well for the future of that great country. Students, business men, and

officials have been reached. President Yuan Shi Kai gives five thousand dollars a year to Christian work. Mr. Eddy appears to realize the most important truth that Christianity is needed in China not only to save as many of the Chinese people as possible, but is necessary to mould all Chinese institutions and the nation's life.

It looks as though China may take a great step in advance, and may welcome more or less fully in the near future the principles of Christianity, if Christian workers and Christian people in general are willing to make the effort and sacrifice. Now is the time to act. We must strike when the iron is hot. The day of opportunity may pass. Much depends on America. The hands of Europe are tied by the present war, and some of these nations had before the war probably lessened their influence with China by encroachments on her territory. Our nation is the only nation in the present hour that has both the Christian principles which China needs, and the resources in men and means to make them effective. Our influence in China is great, and the Christian stewards of our land should not be slow to respond to the opportunity. In this connection the attitude of Japan to China may give rise to considerable apprehension, China has already conceded certain demands made by her stronger neighbor, and may be required to concede more; but it is earnestly to be hoped that nothing will take place that will impair the integrity of this great nation, or that will arrest its rapidly developing interest in the principles of Christianity. Our government should exercise a watchful sympathy. Christian people should pray much for the Christianization of

China; and as stewards of the kingdom's capital should second with their contributions all proper Christian effort in this great oriental country.



Much is heard from time to time on the subject of "Personal liberty;" and the plea is made by certain persons

Liberty that their rights are
and Law invaded in certain instances by legislative acts in such spheres as

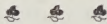
Sabbath observance and the liquor business. The meaning and limitations of liberty and the relation of law to liberty have recently received fresh illustration in a case, insignificant in itself, that came before Judge Joseph M. Swearingen of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. The defendant had been ordered to remove his house from a public highway near McKeesport, but this he refused to do, and as a consequence he has occupied another residence, the jail, for sixteen months. Recently the children of the defendant filed an application for a writ of habeas corpus to obtain his release. The judge dismissed the application, declaring that the commitment to jail of the defendant was not done for the purpose of punishment, but to enforce compliance with a decree duly entered after patient hearing, and after all other means of securing obedience had failed. The judge held that even above the rights of the complainants was the question of the maintenance of the supremacy of the law. In words full of significance for the welfare of society the court said:

By its regularly constituted authorities the law has declared that the defendant should abate this nuisance. He has replied, by his conduct and by his declaration, that he will not do so. Which shall prevail? There can be but

one answer to such an inquiry. Either the law, which is instituted for all alike, must be maintained or the rights of no one will be secure. If one can set the law at defiance, so may another, or so may all, for that matter. Thus the position taken by the defendant and by these relators is wholly untenable. By his conduct he has placed it beyond our power to lend him a helping hand. The only way that we could now grant him this relief would be by setting aside the law which we have solemnly undertaken to administer. No purpose of dealing harshly with the defendant has been exhibited. He was given more than ample opportunity to obey the order of the court. He has never suggested that he could not do so. His only demeanor has been that of open defiance; and he is still persisting.

The fact that law and liberty are compatible and that law protects and assures liberty is a lesson that even our Christian civilization has not fully learned. True freedom occupies the proper, middle ground between anarchy and bondage. There can be no such thing as independence of divine or human restraint. There must be limitation in the direction of ownership and behavior. No man can take what he pleases nor do as he pleases. Liberty is merely the opportunity to work out the highest end of one's being. The Psalmist said: "I shall walk at liberty; for I have sought thy precepts." Law leads in the pathway of true liberty. Law protects liberty. The statute which restrains me protects my neighbor. The law which restrains him protects my liberty. The law which prohibits one man from driving over another man's lawn, protects the freedom of the latter to possess a fine front yard. The law which requires a person to remove his house from a public highway protects the people in their liberty to use such highway. The statute which closes the factory on the

Lord's Day in no sense destroys the proper freedom of the employer, but it does protect the right of the employee to rest on that day, and to attend public worship, if he desires to do so. Divorce legislation that harmonizes with the law of God in no degree trespasses, in its restrictions, upon the rights of discontented people, but does conserve and protect the purity of the home. Prohibition of the liquor traffic is not the destruction of the right of the saloonkeeper to engage in business. He can have no right, or real liberty, to conduct a business inimical to his fellowmen. Prohibition is a means to protect the liberty of our boys to grow up physically, mentally, and morally into proper men. Even the acknowledgment of the authority of Christ in the fundamental law of our land would not be any abridgment of the rights of those who acknowledge not his name. Man's rights cannot limit the divine honor; and such an acknowledgment would also constitute a great bulwark for the moral liberties of our people and would conserve the liberty of our nation to become what a truly Christian state should be.



A prominent daily paper of our city not long since contained a notable editorial on the liquor question under the caption, "A Power

**The
Defiant
Saloon**

that Defies." The special illustration used was the hesitation of the British government to deal vigorously with the

liquor situation, but the writer stated that his purpose was not so much a criticism of the English government as it was, by reference to a concrete and notable case, to show "the tremendous

power of the liquor traffic and the liquor habit." He thinks that the root of the difficulty is in the people themselves, and not in licenses and saloons; and that the final victory rests with the consumer and his appetite. The difficulty, it may be said, is in both the people and in the saloon, though if the people were right, the saloon would go. The final victory rests on total abstinence on the part of the individual and prohibition on the part of the state. However, as to the failure of Briton to grapple manfully with the liquor problem he says:

There has been no more striking incident of the war than this. We have seen many wonderful evidences of devotion and patriotism among all the peoples in the European conflict. Religious differences, aforesaid acute and frequently disturbing, have been suppressed by common consent for the sake of the flag and of national integrity. Socialists have gone to the front in large numbers. First sons of the proudest families are brothers in arms, in suffering and in death with peasant and proletariat. The rich have come forward with their funds for the war chest. Women of all countries are sacrificing, saving, sewing, nursing, doing men's work, and whatever else there may be necessary. Men and boys in every walk are offering themselves up to die as if that were the least that they could do for the land they love. Ordinary affairs in infinite variety are subordinated to the duty and opportunity of the hour. There has been nothing like it in magnitude in the history of the world. But yet Britain, knowing all this, and convinced beyond peradventure where its domestic and industrial weakness lies, cannot make up its mind to abandon the bottle. The bold and unpalatable truth is that King Alcohol is the most powerful sovereign under the sun. He is insidious and defiant beyond anything else with which man has to deal. He will acknowledge no such thing as defeat and knows no

such word as surrender. In peace or war he is always fighting to hold his own and gain new recruits. He doesn't need to resort to conscription. His reliance is upon volunteers. And in this

British crisis it is plain as a pikestaff that he has friends among the mighty who are taking their stand with him rather than on the side of the public defense.

Editorials

PRACTICAL VALUE OF THE CHRISTIAN AMENDMENT

Before giving moral and financial support to any proposed reform measure most people inquire concerning its practical utility. They decline to have their names connected with any movement that does not give promise of practical results.

It often happens that people who pride themselves on their ability to discern between what is of practical value and what is not are blind to the value of some of the most important of all reform measures. This blindness explains the difficulty of uniting the reform forces of our country in the effort to secure fundamental reform.

No one is so foolish as to question the wisdom of digging deep and laying a solid foundation before proceeding to erect a building forty stories high. Every one knows the practical value of the foundation although for the most part it lies hidden from view. Far less wisdom is shown however with respect to civil government and political reform. The demand for practical measures of reform is in the ascendant and the necessity for a moral basis in the fundamental law is overlooked by many.

Reformers may be divided into three classes. First, those who see no value in reform movements except such as aim directly and solely at some-

thing practical. They see no utility in the Christian amendment of the constitution. They think that all needed practical reform can be secured without it, and that it is a waste of time, energy and money to engage in its promotion. Second, those who lay the stress wholly on the Christian amendment. They seem to think that when this is secured everything is secured, and that it is a waste of time, energy and money to engage in the promotion of practical reforms, at least till after the amendment is secured. Third, those who hold that there is an essential and vital connection between the Christian amendment and practical reforms and that both should be striven for at the same time. Let us see whether we can throw any light on the problems here involved.

The Christian amendment gives suitable expression to certain fundamental political principles. Each part of it declares a great truth of political science in opposition to a dangerous political heresy. Let us examine the amendment part by part. "Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government." This is the statement of a most profound and essential truth. There is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. The heresy that stands in opposition to this truth is the claim that power originates with the people, or that it is the product of an

historical evolution. It is said to be unscientific to introduce the idea of the supernatural origin of political authority. But government without God is impossible. Atheism in the political realm is anarchy. Plutarch declared the truth almost two thousand years ago, when he wrote that "there has never been a state of atheists. You may travel over the world and you may find cities without walls, without king, without mint, without theatre or gymnasium; but you will never find a city without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation."

"The Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations." No truth is more fully or clearly revealed in the Scriptures than this. It declares a great fact which vitally concerns the welfare of nations. The truth is that the continued existence and prosperity of nations hinges on their attitude toward Christ as King. "Kiss the Son lest he be angry and ye perish in the way when his wrath is kindled but a little." The nation and kingdom that will not serve his kingdom shall perish. The heresy to which this truth is opposed denies or ignores the fact that God rules the nations through the Lord Jesus Christ, which is equivalent to denying that he rules them at all. Holding that supreme authority in the state comes from the people men hold that the people alone are the supreme rulers in the state. This again is national atheism which leads to anarchy.

"The revealed will of God is the supreme standard for the decision of moral issues in national life." This follows from the fact that the Bible

is intended for the guidance of man in every department of human activity, from the fact that governments are enjoined to be submissive to the divine decrees, and from the fact that God has spoken on all the moral issues on which civil governments are called to legislate. The opposite heresy is that the will of the people is the supreme law. This again is national atheism and leaves us no fixed standard for the settlement of moral issues. The practical value of the amendment is already made manifest.

The amendment proposes to put these principles where they properly belong. It has often been said that if we put God, Christ and the Bible in the hearts of people it will not be necessary to put them in the constitution. But why not put them in human hearts and in the constitution too? It ought to be evident to every thinker that these principles are of a political nature. They are not ecclesiastical, they do not relate to the government of families, they are of wider scope than the individual heart and life. It is not enough to give them expression in Church creeds, or to preach them from the pulpit. They are too big to confine them in human hearts. They relate to national life and well-being, and there is no place large enough to hold them except the heart and life of the nation. Moreover, does not the very suggestion that they be put into human hearts imply that they should be wrought out in their lives? And if this is done must they not inevitably find expression in the life of the nation? And if they are thus to find expression must not the opposite heresies be eliminated? Will not this require that the political theory of the constitution be Christian? Can it be Christian un-

less these principles are embodied in it? Because these principles are political and fundamental the proper place for them is the fundamental law of the land.

The proposed amendment furnishes the test for determining the value of all proposed moral reforms. In these days when almost every one you meet has a scheme of reform which he desires to bring before the country and legislative bodies for endorsement it is well to have some standard whereby proposed reforms may be judged. There are a great many proposed changes of a purely economic character which may be properly adopted, but they are not moral, not vital to the welfare of society, and they are not really of a reformatory character. There are many measures touching moral issues the wisdom of which may be questioned. We wish to know which of the multitudes of reform measures proposed thoroughgoing reformers should advocate. The Christian amendment is the test for determining this whole matter. Every reform measure that confesses God, Christ and the Bible and aims to give them their proper place in civil government is genuine and should be advocated. There is just one kind of tree that bears the true reform fruit, and the roots of that tree are the Christian principles of civil government. There is often danger of overdoing the matter of practical reforms. The danger is this: many practical reformers refuse to work for anything in the line of reform except what they believe to be practically possible from a human point of view and by human ability, ingenuity or strategy. They do not recognize Christ as a partner in the undertaking. They

talk of the things that are reasonable, possible, practicable. What is needed is a school of reformers who have a vision of what ought to be, what God demands, and what he has declared must and shall be. We should strive for the goal set before us by inspired prophets and apostles, and if we come short let the responsibility for failure rest with others, and not with us. The impossible from the human point of view is the very thing God wants and what we should strive for. God does not seem to care about working with reformers who strive for less.

The principles of the proposed amendment furnish the climax of the argument for all genuine practical reforms. We do not wish to undervalue the economical and humanitarian arguments advanced in behalf of the various practical reforms of the day, such as the prohibition of the liquor traffic, the protection of the home against the divorce evil, the preservation of the Sabbath as a civil institution, child labor reform and so forth. But it would be unfortunate for the welfare of society if the higher sanctions for these reforms should be omitted. It is extremely doubtful whether any of these practical measures can be carried through free from sinful compromises apart from the arguments that awake the conscience. It is certain that none of them can be placed on a solid, permanent basis apart from these moral arguments. But these are all embodied in the terms of the proposed amendment.

Finally, the amendment is necessary to give security to all practical reforms. Without it they are like a building erected on the sand which will go down to ruin with the first fierce storm. The amendment itself is the most practical

of all reforms because it is essential to them all.

The facts here presented show the fallacy of the position of those who lay all the stress on so-called practical reforms. But they bear equally hard against the position of those who would wholly ignore practical reforms and give their thought entirely to fundamental reform. Practical reforms must be advocated at the same time the Christian amendment is urged that they may be supported by the most cogent of arguments, that they may be secured in their entirety and without compromise, that the public conscience may be aroused in their support, that they may be established on a sure basis, and that the practical value of the amendment itself may be made manifest.



CHRISTIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

One of the most common objections to the proposed Christian amendment and the various practical reforms now advocated is that they invade the rights of individual citizens who do not believe in them. It is contended that the use of the Bible in the public schools invades the rights of those who do not believe the Bible; that the enactment and enforcement of laws protecting the first day of the week as a rest day invade the rights of all unbelievers in Christianity and of those Christians who hold that the seventh day of the week is the divinely appointed Sabbath; that the acknowledgment of Jesus Christ in the national constitution would invade the rights of all Jews and infidels, and that the acknowledgment of God as the source of all authority and power in civil

government would invade the rights of those who hold to other theories of civil government. Consistency requires that the objector proceed a step farther and add that a government based and conducted on the atheistic theory would invade the rights of Christians.

There are two classes of people who advance this objection; first, certain Christian citizens whose minds are warped on the question of rights; second, non-Christian citizens in whose behalf the objection is advanced. We desire the attention of both classes while we try to show the fallacy of the objection.

It is commonly held that civil government is the institution whose business it is to safeguard the rights of all classes. This is true, but it is a very imperfect statement of the truth. It fails to tell us whose function it is to define human rights and by what standard the decision is to be made. It seems to us that before the question of the invasion of rights can be taken up for consideration both these preliminary questions must be settled. It surely is not the province of individuals themselves to determine what they may justly claim as their rights. No agreement could ever be reached by such a method. There would be perpetual clashing among men as to what their rights really are. There is no infallible hierarchy to which the question might be referred for settlement. We wholly reject the doctrine of an infallible pope by whom the question might be determined. While there may be and often is a general public sentiment that can be quoted as settling the matter pretty definitely, it is evident that there must be some practical way of getting that sentiment crystallized and expressed in some

definite form. This can only be done through civil government. It follows therefore that for practical purposes the state is the power that is to determine the whole question of rights. This does not mean that the state is the real creator or originator of rights, but it is the agent whose function it is to find out what human rights are and to give them legal expression. But how does the state know? Where does it get its information? By what standard is it to be guided? It may be said that the ideas in the minds of the people, handed down from one generation to another, the combined wisdom of men, and so forth, furnish the standard. But how do the successive generations of men get to know anything about rights? Is there any standard higher than mere human opinion? Is there any wisdom higher than human wisdom of which men have the benefit? Is there anything more authoritative than human conventions and arrangements? We do not now intend to prove the authority of the moral standard furnished us in the Decalogue. We assume that it is divine and authoritative. It follows therefore that the moral law sets the bounds of human rights and no one can claim as a right what would be a violation of the principles of morality. Furthermore, since the state is to define and protect human rights, it must have some rights of its own. No one may therefore claim as a right anything that would turn out to be an invasion of the rights of the state, since the state cannot discharge its double function of defining and protecting rights if its own rights which must be exercised in discharging this double function are invaded by individual citizens. It is superfluous to add that since all citizens

from the standpoint of citizenship are on an equality their rights are equal. No one may claim as a right what would be an invasion of the rights of his fellow citizens.

We wish to address our argument first of all to the Christian citizen who thinks that the Christianizing of our institutions, and above all of our constitution, would invade the rights of those citizens who disbelieve in Christianity and the principles of government which it teaches. We wish to ask this class of Christian citizens a few questions. Do you believe that religion is a good thing for a nation and a government? Do you believe that a state whose citizens believe in and practice the system of morals taught in the Bible is more upright, more enduring, and a better protector of rights than one where this moral system is not believed and practiced? To these questions only an affirmative answer can be given. We may then proceed with another question. Do you believe that some way should be found whereby the principles of Christian morality can be taught the citizenship of the country for the country's good? This again will receive an affirmative answer, but it is often added that it is the business of the home and the church to furnish such instruction, and we are confronted with the original objection that to make the attempt in the public schools is an invasion of the rights of those who do not believe in that system. This theory places us in a most marvelous position. The state itself we have seen has rights of its own with which no individual or class of individuals may interfere. It has the right to a moral citizenship for its own protection and welfare, but it has no right to take steps to secure

that moral citizenship through its one educational institution because that would be an invasion of the rights of individuals. It looks to us as if the so called rights of the individuals at this point are not rights at all, and that they are laying claim to a power whereby they nullify the rights of the state itself. This becomes still more evident when it is remembered that the state in the exercise of its rights as an educator does not demand belief in a creed. It does not compel any one to accept the Bible as the Word of God. It inflicts no penalties for want of faith in any religious doctrine. It aims only at the development of the moral nature and furnishes the best possible opportunity for its young people to become upright citizens so that when it punishes for crime it may do it justly.

There are a few additional questions which may be asked of the Christian citizens who so zealously defend the supposed rights of non-Christian citizens. You believe, do you, that Christian morality, and even the Christian religion, is a good thing for the nation and the government? To be of any use however, must not that morality and religion make their power felt in the political realm? And if this is so must they not be inwoven with the warp and woof of the national life? To these questions also an affirmative answer must be given. Then, if these things are so, is there in all this any invasion of the rights of those who do not believe in Christianity? This must be answered in the negative. No other answer is possible. If then it is no invasion of the rights of individual unbelievers for the country to be Christian how does it come about that it is altogether proper for it to become

so through the teaching of the church but improper for it to become so through the public schools? This is a case in which the legs of the lame are not equal.

But there is one more question we wish to ask our Christian brothers who so zealously defend the supposed rights of the unbelieving citizens. Do you believe the principles of civil government as set forth in the Bible? These principles relate to the divine origin of civil government, the authority of Jesus Christ over the nations, and the supreme authority of the divine law. To this question an affirmative answer must be given, since there is no escape from it and still be a real, thorough-going, orthodox Christian. But having made this concession how can it be maintained in the next breath that out of regard to the so-called rights of the unbeliever we should ignore these principles in the framework of the government? Are the rights of the unbeliever so extensive and so sacred that we must yield revealed truth to his lie? Must we deal faithlessly with truth to please the skeptic? Will it be said that we have constructed our government on another theory than the one taught in the Bible? Then let us seriously ask whether men can rightly construct any other theory of government than that revealed by God? Since the Scriptures teach that all authority comes from God, have men any right to construct a government in which this is not so? Can they do so? They can construct one in which the doctrine is denied, but that does not nullify the truth. That government is using authority that comes from God while it denies the fact. Since Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations according to the Scriptures, have men the right to construct a gov-

ernment over which he is not the Ruler? Can they go outside his realm and erect such a government? The idea is satanic. They may erect one in which it is practically denied that he is the Ruler, but he is still Lord of all. Since the moral laws of God are supreme in national life according to the word of God, have men the right to erect a government in which they are not supreme? They may strive to make the will of men supreme law, nevertheless the Higher Law is still supreme and God will judge according to its principles.

It seems that the Christian citizen who opposes the Christianizing of the government in the interest of the skeptic has a hard time of it, and is in danger of making shipwreck of his own faith. It is very unprofitable business trying to be an orthodox Christian and at the same time to defend all the so-called rights of unbelievers. The final result would be that Christianity has no rights anywhere on the face of the earth. The rights of God himself are thus invaded in behalf of the so-called rights of unbelievers.

We wish now to direct a few questions to the unbelieving citizen who in his own behalf claims that his rights are invaded by the presence of anything Christian in the laws, customs and usages of the state. Do you know of any country in which there is no manner or degree of connection between the state and religion? The answer probably would be that the United States and France come the nearest to such an ideal condition. But with respect to France the whole matter is quite unsettled and unsatisfactory. It will be sufficient to attend to the situation in this country. It is admitted that religion has not yet been complete-

ly eliminated from the state. Why is this so? Why has there never been a state without a religion? Is it not evident that there can be no stable civil government without God and a supreme law? But the skeptic replies that that old theory is worn out. However useful religion may have been in the childhood of the race, civil government does not need it any longer. But in addition to a point blank denial of this assertion, we wish to ask how it comes about that the skeptic at this point claims everything and denies everything to the Christian? He starts with the theory that we are all on an equality, and that neither Christian nor unbeliever has the right to impose his views upon the government, since such a proceeding would be an invasion of rights. On this ground he insists on the exclusion of everything Christian from constitutions, laws, institutions, customs and usages. But while he is excluding Christianity he is introducing infidelity. There is no neutral ground here. If you put out the light you have darkness. If you eliminate all Christianity from government you have infidelity. And the unbeliever claims that he has the right so to do while he is but a small minority of the entire population. To what absurd conclusions false notions lead.



THE MORMON VIEW OF THE KINGDOM

The study of the Mormon hierarchy already presented in these columns should at least awaken suspicion that that system is something of a menace to the best and highest interests of our country.

The study of the Mormon view of the kingdom will show whether or not that suspicion is well grounded.

Mormonism is not to be blamed for the mere fact that it has a pronounced, clearly defined doctrine of the kingdom. All Christian denominations have made the attempt to define the kingdom in harmony with the teachings of the Word of God.

Mormons are not to be blamed for striving to realize here and now their conception of the kingdom provided that realization does not invade the rights of individuals, families and nations. All Christian people claim to be striving to establish the kingdom according to their view of what that kingdom is defined in the Word of God to be.

It is at this point that our fears begin to take definite form, since the Mormon doctrine of the kingdom is nothing less than the preposterous claim that Mormonism itself is the kingdom, that the Mormon hierarchy is the only legitimate government, and that it is destined to bear rule over all men and nations.

It is not reasonable to suppose that the elaborate system of government as presented in our discussion of the Mormon Hierarchy was designed and developed for the mere purpose of ecclesiastical rule. No church, viewed merely as a church, ever needs such a system. No church that means to confine its activities to its own proper sphere ever devises such a system. In all Protestant Christendom there is no system of government that bears the remotest resemblance to this Mormon hierarchical system. There is a striking similarity however between this system and that of the Roman Catholic church. But the Roman Catholic hierarchical system was not originated for the mere purpose of legitimate ecclesiastical rule. It is the result of a long process of evolution. That evolution was con-

trolled by the dignitaries of the church, and especially by the bishops of Rome. It was developed for the double purpose of exercising authority from the Roman see over all churches with their subordinate officials, and over all nations, kings, emperors and civil officials of every name and rank. There is ground for the belief that the same is true of the Mormon hierarchy.

While Mormonism has borrowed from the Scriptures the names and titles by which most of its officials are designated, these names and titles are not used at all in their scriptural sense. There is not the faintest resemblance between the Mormon system of government and the system presented in the Bible.

Nothing in the so-called official documents issued by the Mormon authorities throws much light on the Mormon doctrine of the kingdom. But there is plenty of proof, presented in other volumes bearing the quasi approval of the Mormon hierarchy, and in many instances spoken or written by high officials in that hierarchy, whereby our statement of the Mormon view is established. Some of this proof will now be presented.

Let it be recalled that Mormonism is under a so-called priestly rule. Parley P. Pratt, one of the earlier expounders of the Mormon system, in a work entitled, "Key to the Science of Theology," says: "This priesthood, including that of the Aaronic, holds the keys of revelation, the oracles of God to men upon the earth, the power and rights to give laws and commandments to individuals, churches, rulers, nations and the world, and to appoint, ordain and establish constitutions of kingdoms, to appoint kings, presidents, governors,

or judges, and order or appoint them to their several holy callings; also to instruct, warn, or approve them to the Lord."

"Men holding the keys of the priesthood and apostleship after the Order of the Son of God are high representatives or ambassadors to mankind. To receive them, to obtain their instruction, to feed or clothe or aid them is accounted the same in the final judgment as if it had been done to the Son of God in person." (p. 70).

Orson Pratt, another expounder of Mormonism occupying a high position in the hierarchy, uses the following language: "The kingdom of God is an order of government established by divine authority. It is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal and unauthorized. God, having made all beings and worlds, has the supreme right to govern them by his own laws, and by officers of his own appointment. Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own appointment, are in direct rebellion against the kingdom of God." (Orson Pratt's Works, p. 41).

Elder John Taylor, who became one of the presidents of the Church, in a discourse delivered August 30, 1857, said: "God has established his kingdom. He has rolled back that cloud that has overspread the moral horizon of the world. He has opened the heavens, revealed the fulness of the everlasting gospel, organized this his kingdom according to the pattern that exists in the heavens, and He has placed certain keys, powers and oracles in our midst, and we are the people of God, we are His government. The priesthood upon the earth

is the legitimate government of God, whether in the heavens or on the earth." (Journal of Discourses, Vol. 5, p. 187).

Elder Wilford Woodruff, afterwards President of the Church, on April 6, 1862, spoke as follows: "This kingdom has got to raise up and take its stand in majesty, in strength, and power among the nations, and all that the Lord has promised will be realized. Our president has frequently told us that we shall not separate the temporal from the spiritual, but they must go hand in hand together. And so it is, and so we must act in reference to building up the church and kingdom of God." (Journal of Discourses, Vol. 6, p. 345).

On the 22nd day of October, 1865, President Woodruff said: "The Lord has said that in the last days His kingdom should not be taken from the earth nor given to another people, but that the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of our God and His Christ. We have the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and other revelations of God to this effect. Either this is the kingdom of God or it is not the kingdom of God. If it is not the kingdom of God, then are we like the rest of mankind. Our faith is vain, our works are vain, and we are in the same condition of ignorance with regard to the gospel and the purposes of God as the rest of the world. There are tens of thousands throughout these valleys who know that this is the kingdom of God. They know this by the revelations of Jesus Christ. It is not the testimony of another man that gives me the knowledge for myself. If I had not the testimony of truth for myself I would not be qualified to build

up this kingdom. There is no man nor woman qualified to build up the kingdom of God if they have not the testimony of truth for themselves. I will say to this congregation, Jew and Gentile, believer and unbeliever, that this is the great kingdom spoken of by Daniel, the common cement of the Zion of our God, which every prophet has spoken of who has referred to the Zion in the last days. The Lord has sworn by himself because he could swear by no greater, that he will establish it in the latter days." (Journal of Discourses, Vol. II. p. 245).

The teaching of Brigham Young was always to the same effect. Referring to his appointment to the Governorship of Utah by President Filmore he said: "When Mr. Filmore appointed me governor of Utah I proclaimed openly that my priesthood should govern and control the office. I am of the same mind today." Referring afterwards to his candidacy for the office of governor he said, "Should I be elected governor of the state of Deseret, that office shall be sustained and controlled by the power of the eternal priesthood of the Son of God, or I will walk the office under my feet." (Journal of Discourses, Vol. 10, p. 42).

In a case that came before Judge Andrews of the Third Judicial District, he found the following to be essential facts concerning Mormonism: "The Mormon church teaches, First, That it is the actual and veritable kingdom of God on earth, not in its fulness, because Christ has not yet come to rule in person, but for the present He rules through the priesthood of the church who are his vicegerents on earth.

Second. This kingdom is both a temporal and spiritual kingdom, and

should rightfully control, and is entitled to the highest allegiance of men in all affairs.

Third. That this kingdom will overthrow the United States and all other governments, after which Christ will reign in person.

Fourth. That the doctrine of blood atonement is of God, and that under it certain sins, which the blood of Christ cannot atone for, may be remitted by shedding the blood of the transgressor.

Fifth. That polygamy is a command of God, which if a member obeys he will be exalted in the future life above those who do not.

Sixth. That the congress of the United States has no right under the constitution to pass any law in any manner interfering with the practices of the Mormon religion, and that the acts of congress against polygamy, and disfranchising those who practice it, are unwarrantable interferences with their religion."

If any one thinks that Mormonism has changed in recent years he has allowed himself to be deceived by false representations of the present-day Mormon position. At the last quarterly conference of the Salt Lake stake of the Mormon church, Brigham H. Roberts "registered a protest against the thought that Mormonism would eventually, as suggested, become a tolerated sect among all the other sects of the church world. He urged upon the people to maintain the heroic spirit and the characteristics which formerly marked them as being novel, and which drew attention to the church at its organization on April 6, 1830."

From these quotations which might be multiplied it is clear that Mormon-

ism is not organized as a purely ecclesiastical system and for purely ecclesiastical purposes as Christian churches generally are, nor is it organized merely to promote the kingdom of God as other churches are. It is organized as though it itself is the kingdom of God, and that it is commissioned to gain control of these United States, and of all other nations, and to bring them into subjection to the rule of the Mormon hierarchy.

It will not be contended by any one that we have merely given our interpretation of the teachings of Mormonism on the kingdom. It will not be

contended that these representative Mormons whose utterances we have quoted did not understand the system of which they were a part and which they expounded. Nor will it be contended that they misrepresented the character and purpose of that system. In the light of all the facts presented the National Reform Association would be untrue to its principles and aims if it should fail to carry on a determined warfare against this system which by gaining political control hopes to be able to defeat all genuine national reformation.

Special Articles

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICA*

Sloane C. Martin

To-day we stand aghast at the most gigantic war the world has ever known. A whole continent upheaved in bloody struggle; one-half the population of the world directly involved; churches, schools, works of art, wiped out in a single day; the wheels of commerce stilled; millions of helpless women and children suffering and starving; millions of men, the very flower of the nations, dead and dying; all in spite of a civilization boasting itself Christian and proud of its progress in this, the twentieth century. Out of the distress, the desolation, the darkness and the despair of this terrible conflict comes the cry, "Is there no way which leads to peace, to lasting peace?"

Not to the superficial or cynical observer does any hope for lasting peace arise; he knows no relief nor promises any respite. But to the careful student of the deep, rich, full experience of the race, the promise of a world at peace leaves the realm of golden dreams and bursts out into the clear, strong light of actual realization in a not far distant future. To him three nations of the past speak forth their lesson of experience. There is first the Greek—the scientist, the poet, the artist, the natural, moral and political philosopher; then the Jew, man of God, with his song and vision of faith and love and peace; and then the Roman, the practical man, with his institutions, law and government. What does the experience of these three people offer to show the way which leads to peace?

For the Greek there is no peace without liberty; no liberty without democracy. But for him the ideal of democ-

*Winning oration at inter-collegiate contest, May, 1915.

racy ever remained an ideal. For the Jew there is no peace without the Christian spirit of love and service and sacrifice in the hearts of men. In such a spirit many individual men found peace, but the world at large was still at strife, untouched by such ideals. For the Roman there is no peace without law and government. So, taking the Greek ideal of democracy, he established a definite institution, government, and founded a system of laws through which that ideal could find expression. Taking the Jew's ideal of love and service, he established it firmly in the Christian church. His was the practical work, however crudely and imperfectly accomplished, of establishing and building up the means to carry out the high ideals of the Greek and the Jew.

What, then, is the lesson of the experience of the race? Ideals in themselves are invaluable. But until they are institutionalized in some definite form, they cannot be of greatest service to mankind. Men must still see visions. But men must also provide the means by which visions can be transformed into living, practical realities.

Is this true in our individual life? There exists to-day between man and man the ideal of justice and peace. But more than this, there is a definite system of laws and courts by means of which individual differences may be settled without resort to force. Thus the experience of the race has been applied in the case of the individual.

What of the groups of individuals? Here again we find present the ideal of justice and peace. If Pennsylvania and Ohio dispute, the matter may be taken to the highest court of the United States. Here is a definite institution to carry out the ideal. Thus the experience of the race has been applied in

the case of the smaller groups of individuals.

But what of the larger groups, the nations? Implanted firmly in the hearts of the great majority of the individuals who make up the civilized nations of the world, is the ardent desire and longing for the day when the principle of justice and peace shall rule the nations of the earth. Witness public opinion's disapproval of the present strife in Europe. The presence of the ideal of peace cannot be doubted. Yet to-day we are beholding the greatest war of all the ages. Wherein lies the fault? Why has the peace ideal in the hearts of men failed to bring peace?

The nations have not applied the experience of the race. There is no adequate institution to carry out the peace ideal among the nations. The Hague Tribunal has settled many international disputes. But it could not stop the present war because it had no power to compel the case to be brought before it nor to enforce its decisions. Law and government in the case of the individual and the smaller groups are not only institutions in which disputes may be settled but in which disputes must be settled. Herein lies the failure of the Hague Tribunal.

The institution to work out the peace ideal among the nations, should be a League of the Nations founded upon the Greek's ideal of liberty and democracy, and the Jew's ideal of mutual helpfulness and service. Such a League requires the disarmament of the nations. Ever since Bismarck began in deadly earnest the era of iron and blood, Europe has been bending every effort to preserve peace by piling up armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, with the inevitable result that twentieth century so-called Christian

men, aided by all the devices of twentieth century ingenuity, are engaged in a mortal combat which in all the centuries has found no equal. Armaments do not in themselves cause war; neither do they prevent war; most certainly they are an occasion for war. Only to the degree necessary for internal disorder and an international police should the nations of the proposed League be armed.

Such a League also requires a radical change in economic relations. Among individuals and the smaller groups of individuals there is free commercial intercourse. In the case of the nations there are great economic barriers. The American is not free to trade with his English or German neighbor as he pleases. And just as in the case of the individual and the smaller groups, union and peace were secured only when all economic barriers were removed, so in the case of the nations, a World Federation will be possible only when the same principle is applied.

Thus we have a vision of a great World Nation founded upon disarmament and free commercial intercourse. But must it remain only a vision?

Observe with me, briefly, the early history of the United States. Thirteen colonies banded themselves together under a Federation. But the Federation failed because there was no centralization of power. Though called the United States, the states were, in the words of Washington, "one nation to-day, and thirteen tomorrow." The problem could be solved only when thirteen jealous states were united under a centralized government which should rest upon the consent of the states governed and yet be strong enough to curb the powers of the in-

dividual states. Then came the Federal Constitution, powerful, flexible and progressive; "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people." And from the hour that the Constitution went into effect, America ceased to be thirteen states, envious and jealous of one another, and became the great Republic of the United States. Other states saw the advantage of union and joined the nation. And to-day we see the result; a powerful union of forty-eight states—the home of mutual prosperity and peace. All this, the work of the modern Roman!

Is not this experience of our own nation a safe guide toward the establishment of a World Federation? Nearly four thousand miles separate California and Maine. American industries include almost every industry known to the civilized world. Our population is made up of peoples from every nation on the face of the earth. In many of our largest cities, the foreign born far outnumber the native born. America to-day is a miniature world.

Thirteen colonies started a powerful union of states. Three or four of the leading nations can start a World Federation. Let America join with two or three of the other leading nations and a number of smaller ones; let these nations combine their armed forces into a strong international police; let them throw down their economic barriers; then let them invite all the other nations to join with them under a World Government; and the first great step shall have been taken toward the final realization of a world at peace.

It is while the horror of the present war in Europe is still throbbing in the minds of men that definite action should be had to overcome the enor-

mous difficulties that stand in the way of the formation of a World Federation. And herein lies the challenge to America. The United States should take the lead in the formation of a League of the Nations because of the position she occupies among the nations of the world to-day. With her wonderful industries, her almost inexhaustible resources, the strong character of her citizens, and the democratic type of her government, America is called upon to form a nucleus for the proposed League. Because we have succeeded in forming a powerful nation out of widely separated states and of people from every race, ours is the responsibility of taking the lead in the formation of a World Federation. In the thought of Daniel Webster, so dear to every true American heart, liberty and union and peace, now and forever, one and inseparable. And to-day the call comes to us to make these words apply not only to the states within our beloved nation, but to every nation on the face of the earth.

What does the challenge mean to us? First of all, it means that we must continue the work of the Greek and the Jew, not in the formation of ideals but in the spreading and implanting of these ideals in the minds and hearts of all peoples. The ideal of the Greek, democracy and liberty, must supplant the rule of haughty kings. The ideal of the Jew, the Christian ideal of the Jew, love and service and sacrifice, must supplant the spirit of selfishness and greed. His ideal must be made supreme. But the challenge does not end there. Not only must we spread these ideals all over the world, but to-

day the call is to the practical work of the Roman; an institution must be provided through which these ideals may be made effective among the nations.

Clear and pressing to-day comes the call to you and to me to destroy the Temple of Mars and rear up in its stead the Temple of Peace. Shall we heed the challenge? I hear a clear, firm answer on the lips of every true American citizen. We do accept the challenge and with grim determination, we go forth in an honest God-fearing attempt to do our part toward the bringing about of universal peace.

Here, suffused in the softened beams of the dying day, resting upon a green-sward, its wheels half sunken in the earth, stands a cannon. Its threatening mouth is choked with roses; over its cumbrous form a trailing vine clammers and creeps, chaining it to earth as if 'twould bind it down forever. What does it mean? It means banished earth's great armaments, a vine at every door, a smile on every lip, no heart without its home, no soul without its hope.

And there, a wonderful Temple, a memorial from a grateful world to the nations of the past. In one arch they have put the figure of the Jew, child of faith; he taught the world the true spirit of love and service and sacrifice. In another, the Greek; he gave the ideals of democracy and liberty. In another, the Roman; he gave law and government. In another, fair Columbia; at her feet are broken chains and on her brow the diadem of peace; she accepted the challenge of the world, led the way to World Federation and brought men peace.

Geneva College.

PENNSYLVANIA'S REDEMPTION

Prof. James D. Rankin

Victor Hugo, in "The Toilers of the Sea," describes a devil fish with long, leathery tentacles which closed around its victim and held as in a vise while the life blood was sucked away. There was but one spot where a blow had any effect. Strike it between the eyes, and the long antennae would unloosen their grasp and fall powerless from their victim. The devil fish of our national life has many tentacles that suck the life blood of society—the gambling hall, the social evil, political corruption, the divorce evil, and many others, but if the saloon receives a death blow all the others will uncoil, for their vital source will be gone. Political corruption, lawlessness, divorce, robbery, murder and all other evils spring from it more than from all other causes combined. It is the school of anarchy and if ever the red flag is hoisted in this country it will flutter its bloody folds as it did a few years ago in Chicago, from the saloons. The saloon is the cause of more divorces than all other sources combined. It is the ally of every house of sin. The sanctity of the home is its continual prey. It makes possible most of our political corruption and bribery. It largely controls the legislation of our country. It tramples on the tenderest ties of the home. It makes light of marriage vows. It corrupts our voters. It uncrowns womanhood, beggars childhood and besots manhood. The New York Tribune says: "The drink traffic depends for its success upon debased manhood, degraded womanhood and defrauded childhood. It holds a mortgage over every cradle, a deed written in heart's blood over

every human life. Shall mothers hear this and be silent? Shall father's know this and remain indifferent?"

Material prosperity requires its banishment. Health, intelligence, morality are the wealth producing forces of society. Health fits for continuous, vigorous labor. Intelligence awakens enterprise and directs effort into profitable channels. Morality inspires commercial honesty and confidence and encourages investment. The saloon is the enemy to all of these. It is an enemy to commerce, manufacture, trades and business of every kind, because it destroys these elements of wealth making. Were the millions now wasted in drink to be put into legitimate channels of trade, a sober intelligent people would soon become wealthy. On strictly business principles every other interest should league against the saloon for it is a vampire on every one of them. It is the record of every city and state from which it has been driven that prosperity follows its abolition. If our saloons were closed the money spent in them would go into other lines of business. Those whose drinking habits now keep their families wretched would spend their wages for clothing, food, the education of their children, the purchase of homes and for the education of the children. This would give an impetus to business; real estate would advance; building trades would have a boom; there would be more work than workmen and the increased millions earned by enforced sobriety would be added to the public wealth. Taxes would be greatly decreased. The revenue now received from the saloon is but a small fraction of the burden which it imposes upon the city for police system, jails, poor-

houses and other outgrowths of the saloon.

We demand the abolition of the saloons as a political necessity. That the safety of a nation or a city depends on the morality and intelligence of its citizens needs no proof. Neither does the assertion that the liquor traffic is the greatest foe of these qualities. Ignorance and immorality are produced by this business more than by all other causes combined. It unfits men for citizenship. It prepares them to be the tools of political demagogues. It brings men to that level where they will sell their votes to the highest bidder, and this always places them on the side of indecency. The saloon is the nursery of anarchy and lawlessness. It does not need a keen observer to see that we are reaching a crisis in the history of our cities. In 1700 one thirtieth of our population lived in cities. Now one third. They are the nation's heart. From them the life blood flows through all the arteries of the nation, giving life or carrying disease. Cities are the weal or the woe, the glory or the shame, the power or the peril, the Zion that sanctifies or the Pompeii that pollutes. In the city all the forces of evil entrench themselves. Here are centered the greatest evil and the greatest good. Here the press, the great national educator, is most ably conducted. Here are the leading educational institutions and here are located the heads of the great organizations that control the country. Here center its great financial and moral forces.

The influence of the saloon has been a menace to good government in the past. Through its influence the most colossal frauds have been perpetrated

at the ballot box and the jury system has been made a farce. It is hard to convict any one who has political influence. Criminals have often gone free. For years we have blushed with shame. Every violation of the law which goes unpunished, every instance where crime is overlooked and the criminal shielded, every uncertain sound that comes from the jury box announces in trumpet tones the degradation of the city. Every time a criminal escapes his just deserts by trickery or corruption you lose something of your citizenship.

In the battle for its life the liquor power has been unscrupulous. It buys votes as openly as wheat is bought in the market. It is a confession of moral blindness to claim that the machinery of the city is not manipulated in the interest of the saloon. The soiled hand is a disgrace to modern civilization and a peril to the city. The liquor power is the mightiest factor in this debauchery. Its vast capital is used unscrupulously to influence elections and control legislation. Its ambition is as unbounded as its methods are unprincipled. The business is conducted in such a way as to blight every material and moral interest and demoralize the city. These men care little for party but throw their influence for those who will do the most for them. They have bound themselves to vote for the candidates in the party that will stand by them. They require candidates to give them a written pledge to support their interests. One of their papers said recently concerning candidates, "We propose to teach these men that when they oppose us they are digging their political graves." They bitterly oppose all laws for Christian morality. They trample on the

laws that oppose them. There is no room for misunderstanding them. They have one virtue—frankness. They conceal nothing. Our politicians are often afraid of them. This is the power that we are trying to drive from our cities, our State and the Nation.

Some people tell us that this movement is political and that the pulpit is not the place for a political speech. This is not a political contest. It has nothing to do with partisan politics. The question will be up to the people of our land whether the saloon shall remain or depart. They may be given a chance to vote upon this question free from political alliances. It is a moral question, not a political one. It is the battle of decency with indecency; the brothel against the home; the church against the saloon.

They tell us that if we drive the saloon from the state it will bring financial disaster. We have shown how false this is. But is this the only question to be considered? Why do they ring the changes on business alone? There is not a word said about the moral result. The only thing that bulks large—so large as to overshadow all else—is the dollar side of things. It speaks very poorly for them when moral and social considerations drop out of view. Of course, business is not to be overlooked. It is very essential that business interests be guarded, but to make business everything and moral and intellectual conditions nothing is a sad commentary upon the ideals of such men. It is stupid blundering to so fill our eyes with the dust of commercialism that we are blind to all the higher elements of civilization. It is not good business to destroy the elements that make wealth and public decency. It is not

good business to foster an institution that destroys law, without which business can have no safety. It is not good business to nurture an institution that creates nine-tenths of the vice and crime, which creates so large a share of our taxes. It is not good business to encourage an institution that destroys the skill of the workingman and the ability of the business man. It is not good business to protect an institution that will bring money to a few at the expense of the comfort of many. It is not good business to perpetuate an evil that is wasting character, corrupting citizenship and destroying the homes where the future citizenship is reared. It is not good business to destroy the integrity and sobriety which lie at the foundation of honest trade, industrious labor and farseeing enterprise. It is not good business to disregard manhood and the womanhood in order to keep the wheels of an infamous calling running.

Conscience is a commercial asset. Its cash value is above price and to lower, weaken or deaden it is anything but good business. There are other things as important or more important than business. The home and the school are not without value. The boys and the girls of Pennsylvania are an asset worth more to the future than all her commercial enterprises and any business that destroys them should be driven into oblivion. These are things to be remembered when business is made to fill all the horizon. Men are more than things; people are more than property; folks are worth more than real estate. It is more business-like to care for the boys and girls of Pennsylvania than to increase the wealth of a few hundred men. Manhood values are more than money

values. The slayer of virtue, the assassin of character, have no right to rule a city in a Christian land. Henry George said, "I am for men," but those who are struggling for a wet state are for things. With them, dollars outweigh men. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that a saloon has no inherent right to live. It is tolerated simply because men do not rise and banish it. The business stands outlawed in our State and National Courts. Against it public opinion is rising higher every year. It is a business without one redeeming feature. When morals decay progress ceases.

All questions today are studied from a scientific standpoint. We eliminate whatever injures and adopt whatever uplifts if we are scientific. We treat the vegetable world that way. Whatever injures forest, field or orchard is destroyed. Whatever tends to produce more and better grain or fruit is nurtured. The same is true in the animal world. Innumerable laws protect animal life and health. We dip our sheep to prevent them carrying disease. Diseased cows are killed. But here is a business which by the common consensus of opinion of enlightened minds is the greatest enemy of the human race. It wrecks men physically, intellectually, morally, spiritually. It unfits them to do the best work. It destroys the home. It degrades the citizen. Surely we should be scientific enough to banish it. We pass pure food laws; we build public schools; we exercise a rigid supervision over immigrants; we enact laws forbidding child-labor—all in the interest of the State. Why, then, not banish this mighty evil?

People are looking to our cities for homes. When you advertise to the world that any city is to remain wet you will draw a class of people that favor such things. They will think of that city as one whose morals are those made by such conditions and the result will be that many of the best class will go elsewhere for homes and investments. People with lofty moral ideas, with families to raise, will go elsewhere to rear them. Let it be known throughout the nation that the moral sentiment of a city is so high that the saloon is not permitted within its bounds and you will do more to advance its material prosperity than will be possible in any other way. Plutarch said that the Roman Cato was so possessed by the conviction that there could be no safety for Rome so long as Carthage remained in strength that he never made a speech in the Roman Senate that did not conclude with this sentence, "Carthage must be destroyed." Millions in our land and thousands in our cities feel that there can be no safety to our young nor abiding prosperity in business, nor purity in politics so long as the saloon remains. So long as it remains it will debauch, despoil and corrupt the young.

They tell us that even if the saloon is driven out by law it cannot be suppressed—that our laws cannot be enforced. It is notorious that the present laws against the saloon, the gambling halls and the dives are not enforced. After the great disaster in San Francisco the police and military authorities determined that for the welfare of the city the saloons must be closed. It was done instantly and completely. A few days before the newspapers were reeking with the details of the

city's misdeeds, but instantly upon the closing of the saloons everything became quiet and orderly. The police courts were almost idle. The city was free from crime and vileness. It seemed as though the millennial dawn had come. The criminal classes were suddenly brought to a halt. The vicious population was subdued because the saloons were closed up tight and the law enforced by the city police and the United States troops. There is no disagreement about the city's freedom from crime nor of the cause by which it was brought about. The daily press, the Governor, the Mayor, the Chief of Police and General Creeley, the military commander, with one voice proclaimed it to be the result of closing the saloons. There is no need for argument, nor any room for it. The fact was as evident as the overthrow of the city by the earthquake. There was no indignant uprising of the business men. There was no insurrection. It has silenced the cry that it is impossible to enforce the law against the saloon in a great city. It was done in a few hours in San Francisco and kept so for a month. If it could be done there it can be done anywhere.

The freedom from crime during that month is a striking revelation of the source of the crime. We are told that the closing of saloons would bring about no great change. But the Chief of Police of San Francisco was changed in a day from an enemy of Prohibition to the boldest and most uncompromising advocate of the closed saloon. No temperance reformer was more radical than he. He said "we are determined to maintain good order in this city. The most effective way to do this is to close the saloons and

keep them closed." He went to the surrounding towns and cities and urged them for the sake of his stricken city to close their saloons also. The one man in San Francisco who should know how vice and crime can be stopped gave us this record. In so doing he branded the saloon as the source of evil in letters of living light. Oakland kept her saloons open and was so full of drunkenness and violence that a bull-pen had to be constructed in which to confine the lawless people who flocked to the city.

Pittsburgh, Pa.



FIDELITY OF THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

By The Editor

Associations formed on a basis of clearly defined principles and devoted to the achievement of specified objects are liable to change for either better or worse. If it is discovered that the principles advocated are not readily accepted by the masses of the people, or that the ends sought are difficult of attainment, there is a strong temptation to lower the standard so as to render the task easier. If it is found that a clearer statement of principles or a change in methods will facilitate the task undertaken there will doubtless be a change for the better. The Christian church itself is subject to the same influences that lead to change in these respects as are voluntary associations.

As the National Reform Association has now been actively engaged for more than fifty years in promoting the cause of Christian civil government it may prove instructive and profitable to investigate its history to determine whether or not it has yielded to in-

fluences which might tempt it to lower its standard, or whether all the changes by which it has been affected are praiseworthy.

In the early years of its history changes were made in the form in which the proposed Christian Amendment was stated. The form first proposed is as follows: "We, the people of the United States (recognizing the being and attributes of Almighty God, the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, the law of God as the paramount rule, and Jesus, the Messiah, the Saviour and Lord of all) in order to form a more perfect union," etc. At the first national convention to secure the amendment the form proposed was as follows: "Humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler among the nations, and His revealed will as the supreme law of the land, in order to constitute a Christian government," etc., "and secure the inalienable rights and the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to ourselves, our posterity, and all the people." This last clause was omitted after the Amendment prohibiting slavery was adopted. The constitution of the association as it has existed during the greater part of the last half century begins with these words: "Believing that Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of supreme authority in civil affairs." The second article states the object of the association in these words: "The object of this Society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American government; to promote needed reforms in the

action of the government touching the Sabbath, the institution of the family, the religious element in education, the oath, and public morality as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; and to secure such an amendment to the constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land." It is not necessary to enter into an argument to prove that whatever changes were made in those early years in the statement of the principles and objects of the association were changes for the better. This was the general belief at the time they were made, and there is no record to show that any friends of the movement thought otherwise. In making these changes no modification was made with respect either to the principles involved or the ultimate object sought.

When the association became a chartered society a few years ago no change whatever was made in either its principles or aims. The statement of purpose in the charter is in these words: "The proposed corporation is formed for the purpose of maintaining and promoting in our national life the Christian principles of civil government." The constitution of the association as it has existed for well nigh a half century was also adopted after the charter was obtained as the more full embodiment of the principles held and the objects to be sought. The association itself is the corporation and has full control of itself to the same degree as before the charter was obtained.

As the years have passed by, as the veterans have been called to their reward, as the principles and aims of the association have become more widely known and better understood, and as the constituency of the association has undergone many changes, there have been changes of method, but none as to principles and aims. These changes taken by and large have been for the better. While nothing could excel the spirit with which these principles were held and maintained by the majority of the early leaders in the National Reform movement, it is a fact that there were some among the earnest advocates of a religious amendment in those early days who urged the omission of the acknowledgment of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations. Regularly year by year, as often as the annual meetings and conventions were held, resolutions were introduced urging that this part of the proposed amendment be dropped. This division of sentiment, accompanied by spirited, not to say fiery debate continued for ten years or more. There has been a decided improvement in the constituency of the association in this respect. An important victory has been won. A large proportion of the Christian people of our country are now believers in the great fundamental truth that Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations. The last great gathering held under the auspices of the association was the Conference at Portland, Oregon, in the year 1913. The writer undertook to take account of the addresses in which this principle was maintained. He found that it was practically useless because there was scarcely an address in which it was not maintained. At the closing session of the conference Dr. McDonald, editor of the Toronto

Globe, said, "The doctrine that the Conference has been emphasizing all these days is, the Kingship of Jesus Christ." (Conference Report, p. 291). During the first World's Conference held in Philadelphia in November, 1910, the greatest address made at the greatest session of the Conference was on the Kingship of Jesus Christ. At both of these Conferences this was the truth that elicited the most enthusiastic applause. There surely has been some change as to the support given this principle in the past fifty years and the change is such as to cause rejoicing.

Have there been any changes for either good or evil with respect to the advocacy of the Christian Amendment itself? The facts in the case will tell the whole story. It is only within the past twenty-two years of the life of the association that the amendment has actually been laid before Congress. This has been done at least three times. In addition to this, repeated efforts have been made to have incorporated in other proposed amendments the Christian principles of civil government. Still further, the association annually appoints a committee to watch affairs in Congress and to secure the introduction of the amendment whenever the situation seems favorable. In connection with this work and the work done in promoting the two great world conferences that have been held, an effort has been made to reach the entire population of this country with the principles and aims of the association and even to carry the campaign beyond the seas. It is within the past five years that the movement has become nation-wide in a very true sense. At the same time it has become almost world-wide. In all this work the principles and aims of the association

have been kept to the forefront. It is true that the great practical reforms of the day have been given a prominent place. And there is wisdom in this. By taking up these practical reforms a door of entrance is opened for the advocacy of the great fundamental reform for which the association stands. An opportunity is afforded for showing that no thorough practical reform can be secured apart from the Christian amendment. The climax of all arguments for such reforms is thus presented so that the public conscience may be aroused. The adoption of moral reforms on a purely economic basis is thus prevented. All such reforms are lifted out of the realm of mere expediency and placed on the solid rock of principle. These facts are established by the following extracts from the acts of the Executive Committee and the proceedings of the meetings held. The programme adopted by the association in the fall of 1914 for the winter campaign contains the following: "The Bible in the Public Schools; the securing of uniform and Scriptural marriage and divorce laws; the eradication of the evils of Mormonism; better observance of the Lord's day, with special reference to Sabbath closing of the Panama-Pacific exposition; training in the principles and duties of Christian citizenship." Here are a number of practical reforms specified, and the list closes with the Christian amendment. The "principles of Christian citizenship" are the same as the Christian principles of civil government. The "duties of Christian citizenship" involve the duty to labor for the Christian amendment, and the securing of all practical reforms on that basis. This may be a new way of stating these matters. There is no change

or modification as to the truths involved or the object sought. When the programme for the last annual meeting was outlined some of these same practical reforms were given prominent places with the distinct statement adopted by the Executive Committee that every topic was to be presented in its relation to the Christian Amendment.

A few of the utterances by speakers at some of the great gatherings held under the auspices of the association will throw light on this point. On pages 79-81 of the Report of the Portland Conference is the abstract of an address by Dr. T. H. Acheson. The whole address was so constructed as to be in effect an argument for the Christian Amendment. On page 81 we find the following sentences:

"We need preeminently for all social and national questions the recognition and application, in different ways, and in the fullest sense, of the truth of Christ's kingship in the political realm. In saying this we are not forgetting or minimizing the cross of Christ in human affairs. Everything rests on it. But the cross and the crown go together. Neither is effective without the other. What does the kingship of Jesus in civil affairs imply? It means that the individual must apply for himself strictly the law of God in his political life. It means that the government official must be the servant of men and the servant of God, not the autocrat of men. It means that the law of Christ is the standard of legislation; that the law-giver must come down from the mount; that the law of right is the essential basis of all true legislation. Men do not make law. They simply declare it, and apply it. Right government is based on God's law. . . . More-

over it must be borne in mind distinctly that the nation as such is to adjust itself to the great fact of Christ's kingship. Of course this is done in ways already indicated; but not only is the civil obedience of the individuals composing the nation necessary, but the obedience of the organic body, the nation itself. The nation as such acts religiously, not by infringing on conscience, nor by enforcing religion, nor by coercing the church, nor by stepping beyond its own boundaries in any way, but by obeying in its own sphere the law of God. It should recognize the authority of Jesus in its fundamental law; should take this law as the basis of legislation; should put down flagrant public evil; should give its youth a moral education; and make it as easy as possible to do right and as hard as possible to do wrong."

On pages 234-242 of the same volume is an address given by R. C. Wylie, which was an argument for the Christian Amendment from the beginning to the end. It closes with the words, "Let us Christianize our institutions and laws. Let us amend the constitution by embodying in it these religious fundamentals that must characterize every true Christian nation. Then may we claim the blessing of the nation whose God is Jehovah."

The quality of the work done by the association receives further illumination by a reference to the action taken at these great assemblies. On page 281 of the Report of the First World's Christian Citizenship Conference held in Philadelphia in November, 1910, there is first a "Declaration of Principles," embodying all the principles of the National Reform Association, followed by a statement of the obligation of the nations of the world to accept

them. On page 283 occurs the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this Conference request its officers to petition the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives at Washington to report favorably on the proposed Christian Amendment to the Constitution of the United States now pending before them in the following terms: We, the people of the United States, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power and authority in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and His revealed will as of supreme authority, do ordain, etc.; and we further request the National Reform Association to continue to press this matter earnestly on the attention of Congress."

On pages 263-265 of the Report of the Portland Conference held in 1913 is the report of the Business Committee setting forth suggestions for carrying out the Programme of Action previously adopted. The Sixth article of this report is entitled "Christianizing Civil Government," and reads as follows:

"The coming of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ involves the Christianizing both of peoples, laws and the very framework of civil governments. This is to be done, not by the union of church and state, but by the state recognizing and discharging its own functions as a part of the Kingdom. The formal organization of civil government will differ in different countries, but they all sustain the same relation to God as the source of all authority, to Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and to his revealed will as the supreme authority in the realm of national life. These truths should enter

in some definite form into the organic law of every nation."

It is only necessary to add to this array of facts the statement that the Christian Statesman never fails to urge the principles and aims of the Association and to show the connection of these principles with all the moral reforms advocated in the political realm. There never has been a time when this was done to a greater degree than now.



THE EXPRESSION OF NATIONAL CHRISTIANITY IN FUNDAMENTAL LAW

Findley M. Wilson

It is the duty of a nation to express its belief in God and purpose to obey his moral law. The National Reform Association has always urged that such profession be made in the National Constitution. This would require the amending of that document. Such an amendment should suitably express our national acknowledgment of the authority of Almighty God, of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the moral law of God for nations.

"No one is committed to any form of words. A suitable acknowledgment of the nation's relation to the supreme Ruler of Nations, and his moral laws is asked for, while it is left with the appropriate authority, either Congress or a Constitutional Convention, as the case may be, to formulate the expression." (Dr. McAllister in New York Convention, 1873).

I. Why should a nation, any more than a business corporation, or voluntary association, express in its constitution its relation to God and his moral law? Nations are moral beings, under

law to God. They are the creatures of God, and being jural societies, act in the sphere of positive morals. Voluntary associations are under moral restraint, but not under appointment from God to do his will as divine institutions. A nation should acknowledge God who has clothed it with authority and determined its sphere of action.

1. In support of this view of the state one can appeal not only to the Scriptures but also to the leading authorities on political philosophy.

Chancellor Kent declares that "States, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons;" and he further says every individual must carry with him into the state "the same binding law of morality and religion which ought to control his conduct in private life."

Bouvier in his elaborate work on American Law declares that "a nation becomes a moral person, and is susceptible of moral obligations and rights."

Francis Lieber, one of the foremost authorities in political science, maintains that "the State, being a jural society, and rights being imaginable between moral beings only, it follows that the state has likewise a moral character and must maintain it."

Says Elisha Mulford, one of the few great names in political science, author of the book **The Nation**, "The assertion of the moral being of the nation has been the foundation of that which is enduring in politics, and has been embodied in the political thought and will, which alone have been constructive in the State."

John Milton, first, perhaps, among English authorities declares: "A commonwealth ought to be but as one huge

Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body."

Edmund Burke, a worthy companion of John Milton, speaking of the moral relations and duties of the state, asserts that on account of these the English nation "think themselves bound not only as individuals in the sanctuary of the heart . . . but also in their corporate character to perform their national homage to the Institutor and Author and Protector of civil society." (*Reflections on the Revolution of France*, pp. 183, 185).

Dr. Thomas Arnold clearly shows that he rejects the theory of the state that it is merely for man's secular advancement, when he affirms what of necessity implies its moral character and accountability. He proposes the query: "Why may not the highest object of a nation, as such, be self-defence, or wealth, or any other outward good, although every individual of the nation puts a moral object before any mere external benefits?" He replies: "The answer to this is simply because a nation is a sovereign society, and it is something monstrous that the ultimate power in human life should be destitute of a sense of right and wrong. . . . That end (the worthy end of a nation's life) appears to be the promoting and securing a nation's highest happiness; so we must express it in its most general formula; but under the most favorable combination of circumstances, this same end is conceived and expressed more purely as the setting forth of God's glory by doing his appointed work."

And but once more, Phillimore, one of the highest authorities on international law, thus defines the nature and law of nations: "Moral persons are

governed partly by divine law, which includes natural law; partly by positive instituted human law, which includes written law or unwritten law or custom. States are reciprocally recognized as moral persons. States are therefore governed in their mutual relations partly by divine and partly by positive law. Divine law is either first, that which is written by the finger of God in the heart of man, when it is called natural law; or second, that which has been miraculously made known to him, when it is called revealed or Christian law. The primary source, then, of international jurisprudence is Divine Law."

If then these things be true—and that they are true practically all masters of political science teach—why not declare them and let the nation stand four-square before all men on these eternal principles?

2. The distinction between nations and business corporations ought to become apparent on comparing their respective rights and prerogatives. The state exercises large control over the lives of its subjects. It levies taxes, exercises police powers, and the right of eminent domain; it apprehends, tries and punishes the criminal. It takes the children of the nation and educates them as it will. It declares war, suppresses insurrection, takes the life of the murderer. Whence hath the state these powers? "There is no power" (rightful authority) "but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God." If these powers exercised by the state are derived from God to be exercised because He instituted the state to exercise them, why not confess the God who hath given such power unto men, when organized into the jural societies we call states?

II. The Christianity requiring to be expressed in the Constitution is **National** Christianity. It is not proposed to express any individual or ecclesiastical creed in a national instrument. The Bible is a complete moral guide. It contains a revelation of man's duty in all spheres of his related life. There is in it God's revelation of his will for the individual, for the family, for the church, and for the nation. While these duties may overlap somewhat, they can be distinguished with sufficient clearness for practical purposes. For instance matters pertaining to the atonement of Christ, the doctrine of inspiration of the Scriptures, modes of baptism, the observance of the Lord's Supper and various other things, belong to the church. Many things in the Bible are strictly personal, while others belong almost, if not quite, exclusively to the state. These latter constitute National Christianity. This national Christianity which it is proposed to express in the national Constitution embraces at least three broad and general principles, viz., that God is the Author of National life, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the appointed Ruler of nations, and that the moral law of God for nations is the supreme standard of the nation's life. Nations that accept and obey these principles will live in the enjoyment of the blessings of God. Nations that reject them will perish. The National Reform Association does not ask for the expression of church or family or individual religion in the Constitution, but it has for more than fifty years pleaded with this nation and is now pleading with all nations to accept the principles of national Christianity.

These three broad principles have found expression in the life of our nation in one way or another, but have never yet been accepted as a basis for our nation's life. First of all, nearly every state in our union acknowledges God in its constitution. That establishes the principle at least, and opens the way for the fuller expression of the principle as revealed in the Scriptures.

During the civil war the Congress of the United States repeatedly acknowledged God and Jesus Christ as supreme over the nation. March 2, 1863, the famous resolution passed the Senate requesting President Lincoln to appoint a day of National fasting and prayer in the hope that the nation's life might be spared and the scourge of war be removed. "Devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations; deploring the national offences which have provoked his righteous judgment; yet encouraged in this day of trouble by the assurances of his Word, to seek him for succor according to his appointed way, through Jesus Christ," they asked the President to call the whole people to supplication before God.

Mr. Lincoln's response to this request was most noteworthy. He appointed a day of fasting, and in his proclamation declared it to be "the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence on the over-ruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon." He further called upon the people to recognize "the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord."

Speaking for the entire nation he confesses: "Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God who made us. It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."

Thus there has been in times of disaster and danger a recognition of those principles of national Christianity which we seek to have embodied in the national Constitution that they may find their way into the nation's entire life and bring to our great and growing people the blessings of the God of nations.

If proof, apart from the teachings of Scripture, is asked for the declaration that the law of God for nations is supreme, let one take a glance at the history of nations from the beginning of national life to the present. Nations were preserved and blessed only in proportion as they were obedient to the will and purpose of God, and they were punished and ceased to be as they sinned and forgot God. The present warring nations of Europe have tried almost every expedient for national prosperity and security but the law of God. The one thing they have never yet tried is Christianity. And does any one seriously doubt that the one remedy of their national ills, the one adequate defence for all, the one lone hope for each that it may live and fulfill its destiny in history is the acceptance of the principles of national Christianity? There has been some profession of the name of God in word, it is true, but therewith an utter disregard of God's law for nations, and a stubborn refusal to apply the principles

of national Christianity in governmental affairs. We plead for the acceptance of these great principles—the sovereignty of God over nations, the Kingship of Jesus Christ, and the supremacy of his law for nations—and call upon this nation and all other nations to write them into the fundamental laws of their respective governments.

Yet the strongest and final proof of these principles is to be found in the Word of God. The most cursory examination of the Word of God will show how clearly they are taught with emphasis and reiteration. The passages are so numerous that a few of the more important ones must answer, and we content ourselves with merely referring to them, leaving the reader to look them up. Psalms 2; 22:27; 47; 110; 72; Jeremiah 18:7-10; Rom. 13:1-6; Matt. 28:18; John 5:22, 23; Acts 10:36; Phil. 2: 9-11; Isaiah 33:22; Jeremiah 10:6, 7; 1 Timothy 6:14, 15; Revelation 1:5; 17:14; 19:16.

III. Another argument for the Christian Amendment to the Constitution is that the Constitution as it now stands is with respect to Christianity out of harmony with the other organic acts of the nation. There is a distinction between statute laws and organic acts of the whole people. Character was given to the early colonies of our country by the Christian Charters granted them. Then the colonies themselves entered into Compacts of government which appear, almost without exception, to have been based upon the principles of national Christianity. The Declaration of Independence was the next important document of this organic character in which the people as a

whole spoke. In it are the most devout expressions of dependence upon God and trust in his help and protection. In the Articles of Confederation, next in order, there is a cordial recognition of the "great Governor of the world" who had been pleased "to include the hearts of the legislatures . . . to approve of and to authorize" the delegates "to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union."

And the states, one by one, in framing their state Constitutions have acknowledged God. Thus it appears that the Federal Constitution stands alone among all these organic documents, in which the people as a whole speak for themselves, without any expression of these religious principles. The Christian Amendment is required to bring it into harmony with these other noble professions of the nation's faith.

IV. The Christian Amendment is required to fulfill a plain duty to God. All moral beings should worship God. Nations, as we have seen, are such moral beings. In Acts 17:24-26 Paul declares that God created nations, appointing them their times and their territories. And Psalm 86:9 expressly calls upon nations to worship God. "All nations whom thou hast made, shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name."

The ends of government set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States are such as God only can enable us to attain: "In order to form a more perfect union; establish justice; ensure domestic tranquillity; provide for the common defence; promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Yet who does not know that these are the blessings of the Lord

—every one of them? The Scriptures abound with promises that God will give precisely such favors to the nations that obey and serve him, and to none others. To attempt to secure them without acknowledging God is both impiety and folly.

V. The Christian Amendment is required to express properly in law the Christian purpose of the nation. It is often intimated—sometimes strongly urged—that such religious purpose can be adequately expressed in statutory law. It is urged that the national constitution is not the proper place for such expression of purpose. But such is the majesty of this fundamental law, that its influence moulds the life of the nation. It interprets in advance the spirit of the nation's statutes and determines its very life. It is the supreme law for the general government; and for all the states. Its power in a matter of such momentous import is all but unlimited. The absence of any Christian acknowledgments or provisions in this document leaves both the general government and the states free from any political obligation to respect the law of God. Witness the logical results of this in our corrupt divorce laws, the decay of our Sabbath laws, and a general tendency to godlessness in political life. Men of profane and irreligious character occupy places of official trust and power, while clearly, by the law of God, civil officers ought reverently and consciously to stand as representatives of God before the people and as representatives of the people before God. Prov. 8:15, 16; Rom. 13:4-6.

VI. The absence of such acknowledgments in the Federal Constitution is constantly used as an argument against all that is Christian in our institutions.

Authors of works on political science distinguish between the written and the unwritten constitution of a nation. The latter finds expression in the customs of the people, their cherished institutions, decisions of their courts of justice and such like. Even Hegel asserts: "Their idea of God constitutes the general foundation of a people. Whatever is the form of a religion, the same is the form of a State and its Constitution. It springs from religion." And Mulford expresses the thought thus: "The formal Constitution must correspond to the real (that is the unwritten). It is the order in which the people are to act, and the people must find, therefore, in the written or formal Constitution, the expression of its spirit, and its purpose must not be fettered nor perverted by it, but it must be able to act in and through it with entire freedom, in the furtherance of its aim. There must be reflected in it its own spirit, and in so far as it fails of this, it has elements of weakness or peril." The weakness and peril of our present constitution with no safe-guard in itself of the Christian customs of the American people is painfully apparent. The foes of our Christian institutions are constantly clamoring for the repeal of our Sabbath laws, exclusion of the Bible from our public schools, discontinuance of prayers in Congress, of our national fast and thanksgiving days—in short everything Christian in the life and customs of the nation—and all because the Constitution knows nothing of religion, God or his law. Judge Jameson has sounded timely warning on this point. He insists that the written must be made to conform to the unwritten or the unwritten will in time be moulded into the form of the written. Let his words be marked. They are the words of a sound lawyer, "Not only **may** the people, but, if they would insure peace

with progress, they **must** by amendments cause the former (the written Constitution) to conform substantially with the latter (the vital customs of the nation)." Therefore we cannot rest under a godless and Christless Constitution and hope to maintain our present Christian laws and institutions. Our enemies have a strong argument against us when they can appeal to the Constitution in its present form. History ought to show us the almost overwhelming power of the written document. A pro-slavery written Constitution came near making us a nation of slave holders. Reverence for a noble document must not be allowed to blind the eyes of Christian citizens of this republic to our danger. In the words of Mulford: "The life of a people cannot be sacrificed for a political form or a political dogma." Speaking of this same danger from the foes of our national Christianity having the weight of that instrument of overshadowing dignity and authority on their side, the late Dr. T. P. Stevenson used these profound words: their appeal to the un-Christian constitution is a "powerful lever to overturn the most cherished and important features of our institutions. We must **wrest** this argument from the unbeliever, or he will wrest from us every argument which defends our Christian institutions. We can no longer leave so precious, so vital a body of laws and usages as those which defend the Sabbath, Christian marriage, the sacred name of God, and the oath, exposed to the argument drawn from a constitution which contains no utterance in their favor. We must throw around them the shield of constitutional provision, we must provide for them a basis in our fundamental law, or they perish out of our life as a nation."

Philadelphia, Pa.

The National Reform Movement

THE MORMON KINGDOM

"MORMON REVELATOR REVEALED"

Under the above caption The Continent of New York, in its issue of April 29, contains the following pithy editorial. We reprint it here because it sets forth so pointedly not only the rule of the state by the Mormon church but also the trickery, chicanery and hypocrisy of the hierarchs of this system in their civic domination. It is high time that all patriots, especially all Christian patriots, were bestirring themselves to end the existence of this hierarchal rule and blasphemous claim that the system is "The Kingdom of God:"

Joseph F. Smith, "prophet, priest and revelator" of Mormonism at Salt Lake City, has just come through the worst rumpling up he has suffered in all his long career of sinuous sanctimony. For once the shrewdness of the aged fox went awry, and his people have "got next to him" with a vengeance. In a public speech of attempted explanation he mournfully acknowledged that he was "beset like a storm of inquisition." That's not specially good grammar, but it's expressive, and it is safe to wager that a Mormon president never said that in public before.

The trouble is over the question of prohibition for Utah. The mass of Mormons are fierce and honest enemies of the whisky business. But their hierarchs like the big profit which comes to "Z. C. M. I."—the official Mormon department store—from its liquor sales, and are not disposed to knuckle down to prohibition sooner than they have to. That, however, they don't dare tell the people. So they decided to let the people elect a prohibition legislature unhindered, but arranged for the governor to veto the prohibition law which such a legislature would pass. That plan worked pretty smoothly four years ago in the first term of Governor William Spry, and since Spry is still on the job—now in his second term—that appeared the easiest way to turn the trick again.

As expected, the Utah house and senate this past winter concurred in an act to abolish the liquor trade in Utah completely. Then the majority began to watch Spry. Spry

played for time. He once promised to return the bill before the legislature adjourned. What he did in fact was to hold it till after adjournment and then veto it—when, of course, there was no chance to pass it over his head.

Away down in Kane county, on the south border of the state where Mormonism is solidest, State Senator Seegmiller returned home mad all the way through. Seegmiller is a fanatical Mormon, but also a thick-and-thin prohibitionist. For once the two sentiments didn't hitch. Finally he couldn't hold in any longer. In a county-seat weekly Seegmiller published a signed statement, declaring that he and Senators Eckersley and Colton, all "stake presidents" in the Mormon organization, had been called into Governor Spry's office and the governor told them that President Joseph F. Smith had instructed him to veto the prohibition act. Then, according to Seegmiller, the governor added:

"Brethren, I come to you as your brother in the priesthood, and not as governor of the state, and I bring a message from the president of the church to you as stake presidents, and the message is that President Smith desires you to sustain my veto on the floor of the senate and defend me in my action when you go home to your people."

Seegmiller says he told the governor that not even President Smith could make a "polliwog" out of him. And after the publication of this dynamite, it is not suspected that Smith thinks Seegmiller is a "polliwog." The public wrath that assailed Smith immediately—that "storm of inquisition"—was too big a trouble for a "polliwog" to manage. President Smith, of course, at once denied having mixed in on the matter, but the governor didn't deny it, and the other two senators involved denied details only of Seegmiller's statement, with a painful avoidance of the point which was everything necessary to prove it true. Smith stands convicted.

The most damning thing in Seegmiller's quotation from Spry is the statement that the president deemed it necessary to head off prohibition because it would bring down on them new anti-Mormon persecution. This can mean nothing else than that the church is afraid of the American liquor ring; nobody else would persecute it for prohibition. There have been suspicions heretofore that whisky and beer are the mainstay of Mormon backing in politics, but this is virtual confession.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ORDER OF ANTI-POLYGAMY CRUSADERS

Mrs. F. J. Diefenderfer

It is always a source of regret that I cannot impart to the printed page the full spirit and inspiration of the way-side experiences that I meet as I go about our great country. Truly this is a goodly land and God hath not dealt so bountifully with any other people.

The first days in April were spent making a few necessary preparations for a long journey into the West. We touched the border lines of Wyoming, Kansas, Colorado and the Dakotas.

At Scott's Bluff, Nebraska, a very busy, growing town, we were welcomed by thirty or more clergymen gathering from the several towns that make up Box Butte Presbytery. There is a large sugar beet industry in Scott's Bluff and an evening meeting, largely attended, gave an opportunity to present some facts about the "Commercial Power of the Mormon Hierarchy." Everyone was interested in our story because the old trail covered by the first Mormon colony was laid through this district, returning to some central points in Nebraska.

We visited Grand Island, Wood River and several other growing towns. A Sabbath morning service in the Presbyterian church in Grand Island was well attended and many people expressed great interest.

A Sunday was spent in Lincoln and the following day a delightful luncheon was served giving all an opportunity to hear something of "Home Life in Utah." These social functions bring together the club women and those of other organizations that wish to have a part in our campaign. Constitutions for Branch Orders were left at each place.

Meetings were held in Omaha and South Omaha, and several towns in Northern Nebraska were visited. Everywhere the representatives of the Mormon church were known and in some

instances were present at the meetings.

Since my return, letters have been received asking for further information regarding the power of the Hierarchy, their insidious teachings as well as lines of activity that can be pursued against these leaders. In almost every case I have discovered that a second visit to a church or community is productive of more good than the first. Many of these prominent towns asked for a date at some future time when the Superintendent of the National Reform Association, together with Senator Cannon and myself, should tour the state and conduct a campaign that would count for much.



LETTER FROM GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

James S. Martin

It would not be advantageous to the cause of Christianity and patriotism in the United States for the Christian Statesman to devote much space to the tirades of Mormon priests against the National Reform Association and its work. But occasionally it may be wise to present characteristic emanations from high Mormon priests, so that our readers may be aware of the spirit that animates the authorities of the polygamous Kingdom.

The General Superintendent has recently received two letters from Elder Walter P. Monson, President of the Eastern States Mission of the Mormon Church with headquarters at New York. The State of Pennsylvania is within Elder Monson's jurisdiction.

In one of the Monson letters, to which later attention may be paid, appears this fling at Pittsburgh, (the letter being dated at Pittsburgh, May 12): "This city is too clean to allow Senator Smoot in it. I am sure the most lonesome creature would not be among the Pittsburghers but would be Utah's Senator who wisely refused to breath your brand of pure air." That remark will be interesting to the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh and to the noble women who protested

against the public address here by the Mormon apostle, who is a responsible authority in the cult which teaches the practice of polygamy.

The other of the Monson letters is dated Pittsburgh, May 11, 1915, and is herewith given in full. It is offered to our readers as a typical defense by the Mormon church and its authorities against our specific charge that the Mormon church teaches polygamy.

James S. Martin,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sir:

The German government has been lauded to the skies by Anti-Mormon workers for their method of handling the "Mormon" question. This government as also the English government has been urged to follow the example of "fearless Germany" in dealing with the "Mormons." Such statements are made by representatives of the National Reform Association. In the face of all this you are no doubt proud of the German government today. Heartless, Bloody, Murder is charged to the nation who listened to the hireling preachers and corrupt agitation who sought to uphold their false creeds by inciting imprisonment and murder against the "Mormons." How do you and your organization stand with the blood-thirsty nation now? I can only feel exalted in knowing that I belong to a church whose opposition comes from such sources as the German government—the priest ridden teutons. Their hatred has gone to seed and the harvest is nigh. To say the least, you have been keeping bad company in your "Anti-Mormon" Crusade. When ministers **who claim** to be messengers of peace indulge in such bitterness, what can be expected from the **laity**. God pity you and your association as lacking nothing in zeal but woefully ignorant of what you are doing.

Respectfully yours,

W. P. Monson.

Intelligent readers cannot fail to note the usual line of Mormon proceeding.

The National Reform Association is asking Congress for an amendment to prohibit the practice of polygamy and polygamous living in the United States. In support of that request which is endorsed by millions of American citizens the National Reform Association and other responsible agencies of publicity have demonstrated the teaching of polygamy by the Mormon church and the practice of polygamy by the high Mormon priests. The United States Senate Committee in its great investigation adduced incontestible evidence and made a report to the same effect. We cite President Monson's letter as a typical defense. The Mormon church does not and cannot meet the real issue involved and its recourse is to abuse and vituperation.



CRUSADE NOTES

The following is an abstract from the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of the Church Federation of Greater Kansas City, Mo., the 19th of April last:—"On motion of Mr. Robinson, seconded by Mr. Pickett the Executive Committee endorsed the work of the National Reform Association in its movement against polygamy and against treasonable teachings of the Mormon church. The following committee was appointed to co-operate with the National Reform Association in this movement: Rev. J. M. Wylie, Chairman; Rev. W. Riley Nelson, pastor Slavus Memorial M. E. Church; F. C. Childs, American Bank Building." Dr. Wylie, the chairman of the committee, writes that he will at once take up with his committee the matter of co-operative effort.

* * * * *

Senator Cannon addressed the thirty-seventh convention of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs in the Hotel Astor, N. Y., the afternoon of May 7th. There were present fully fifteen hundred people, representing more than 200,000 members of the city clubs. That the address was most effective was evidenced not only by the hearty and prolonged

applause at its close, but also and especially by the unanimous adoption of a resolution favoring an amendment to our national constitution forever prohibiting polygamy and polygamous cohabitation. And all this, too, after the tabling of a somewhat similar resolution at the morning session of the convention. The newspaper reports of the following morning were headed: "WOMEN WEEP OVER POLYGAMY SPEECH—FEDERATION OF CLUBS STIRRED BY FORMER SENATOR CANNON'S ADDRESS!"

* * * * *

As evidence of the need of, if not indeed as well the growing interest in, the Anti-Mormon Crusade we quote the following from an editorial in the May issue of The Bible Magazine, the official organ of the Bible Teachers Training School in New York. The editorial from which the quotation is given is entitled "Moral Possibilities." It deeply regrets the feeble and fitful opposition of the Christian church to entrenched wrongs and urges its vigorous and unceasing opposition to all such. The editorial closes with these pertinent words: "As long as there are wrongs to meet they should be kept persistently before the public mind everywhere." Having referred to the progress now being made in the temperance movement its reference to Mormonism is in the following paragraph:

The question arises: Are we morally excusable if we fail to carry on the same persistent sort of fight against any other great evil that besets us? What, for instance, of the lawless aspects of Mormonism? Should the church pause in its effort to compel Mormonism's full obedience to law, or cease to expose its blasphemous doctrines and hideous moral code until it makes it a religious outcast? Its own propaganda is amazingly well organized; its missionaries are at our very doors, even in the East. Yet how much public instruction is the pulpit giving to combat the evil? It is a growing

power, and nothing but persistent work is going to eradicate it.

* * * * *

While the General Superintendent was working in the interests of the Crusade in New York City he also found time to visit Philadelphia, speaking in a number of the churches of that city. The following is an extract of his addresses taken from the Philadelphia Record:

"The great fundamental evil of Mormonism is in its claim to be the literal, temporal kingdom of God established here on earth and ruled by the Mormon king, Joseph F. Smith, divine seer and prophet," said Dr. Martin. "It is a veritable empire within the State, whose subjects are in sworn disloyalty to the United States. The Mormon system is guilty of political and commercial crimes and treasons. Notwithstanding the surrender of the Mormon hierarchs to our Government 19 years ago, when they solemnly covenanted never more to teach or practice polygamy, that crime is taught today and practiced by the leaders of this anti-American system. Notwithstanding their pledge never more to use the trust fund committed to their keeping for the corruption of the channels of public communication, as they had done hitherto, they are today engaged as a church in investing this trust fund in many of the great law-breaking trusts of the country.

"The hierarchs of this system control politically six States and have an effective political influence in five more. They patronize Presidents, make bargains with the great political parties and hold the balance of power in the United States Senate. If the United States does not soon do something to the Mormon kingdom the Mormon kingdom will do something to the United States."

* * * * *

A friend from Wilkesburg, Pa. writes: "I take pleasure in handing you a contribution to help on with the cause. I sincerely hope the time is not far distant when we will be able, by

our votes to wipe this polygamy off the face of the earth. Please keep the Christian Statesman coming. There is no magazine that comes to my table that I enjoy more."

* * * * *

Arrangements have been made for the presentation of the Resolutions endorsing the Anti-Polygamy Platform

and Program of Action of the National Reform Association on the floors of the Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the United Presbyterian Church of North America, the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, the National Baptist Convention and many other similar gatherings.

PEACE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE

PRINCIPLE ALWAYS RIGHT: HOW IT IS TO BE APPLIED

Henry Collin Minton

The Public Ledger of Philadelphia recently sent out an inquiry to a number of ministers in the country and published the interesting replies. These replies come from representatives of various denominations but there is substantial consensus as to the un-Christian elements and aspects of war. The whole question of Christianity and war is just now having a wide and careful consideration. The Christian conscience everywhere regards war as the monumental wrong of history. And in these days of refined sensitiveness to right and wrong there is a world-wide protest against this wholesale fratricidal strife that is making our time black for all the future and marking it among the ages, in this special aspect, as an age of blind fury and mad hate. We append the contribution of the president of our association, the Rev. Dr. Minton, as it appeared in the Public Ledger. —Editor.

The sentiments recorded on this page were elicited by the following letter sent to prominent clergymen by the Editor of the PUBLIC LEDGER:

A recent sermon by Headmaster Lyttelton, of Eton, preached at St. Paul's, London, in which he advocated overwhelming the Germans with a "war of love" rather than a "war of hate," and exhorted his hearers to remember the Scriptural injunction to "love your enemy," has aroused a somewhat bitter controversy in England and elsewhere as to the ethics of the situation.

In view of the persistent German "campaign of hate" against England,

leading Christians in England believe this is neither the time nor the occasion for a literal acceptance of the Biblical texts such as those quoted by Headmaster Lyttelton.

Will you kindly give the PUBLIC LEDGER the benefit of your views on this very significant issue? Is there any warrant or justification, in your opinion, for the view that the doctrine set out in Luke vi, 27-32: "Love your enemies; do good to them which hate you; bless them that curse you; and pray for them which despitefully use you," etc., should be considered as in abeyance during the war? Or do you feel that there is no better time than a world war among Christian nations for the spiritual leaders of the nations at war to enunciate, proclaim and apply the principles of Christ as set out in this chapter of St. Luke?

Reply to Letter

I have not read the Lyttelton sermon, although I have seen references to it in the London papers. Accordingly, I cannot discuss it, but only attempt to answer your question which it raises.

In the first place, Lyttelton's phrase, "A war of love," means nothing to me. War is commonly the child of hate. Nations do not send their subjects out to kill each other in the spirit of love. The injunction to love your enemies is hard to obey in time of war. I understand war, technically, to be a declared state of hostility and belligerency be-

tween sovereign states. Germans may love Britons and vice versa; personally and individually they may not be enemies; but as citizens of warring states and as subjects of warring crowns, they belong to nations that are in a state of war.

In 1865, President Lincoln, officially, could not treat a Confederate soldier who was his personal friend in a manner different from that in which he could treat another. A personal friend may be a civic or a national foe. To treat the loyal subject of a warring nation as a friend, might be actual treason against one's own colors and crown.

The state of war is abnormal. If "war is hell," ordinary human relationships suffer from a hellish twist. The status is exceptional. The supremacy of crown-rights and state-loyalties, though always existing, is in times of war more in evidence than in times of peace; it is sovereign and absolutely controlling, and it entirely overrides personal interests and private preferences.

I should say that the best way for an Englishman just now to love a Ger-

man is to bring what influence he possesses to bear upon the policy of Sir Edward Grey. Let him do what he can to change the infernal status, to eradicate the disturbing causes, to restore normal conditions. He will need all the reason and conscience he has to decide how this is to be done.

The injunction in Luke vi is not to be set aside in war times. The principle is always right, but the great question is how it is to be applied. The brave soldier in the army of the allies may literally obey this precept in his personal actions and attitude toward the Kaiser's soldier in the opposing trenches, and yet he would be both fool and traitor to ignore the fact that the two states are at war—with all that that means both at home and out on the field.

I think it is entirely consistent with this view to give an unqualified affirmative answer to your question, "Do you feel that there is no better time than a world-war among Christian nations for the spiritual leaders of the nations at war to enunciate, proclaim and apply the principles of Christ as set out in this chapter of St. Luke?"

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP INSTITUTE

The National Reform Association announces the following program for its Eleventh Annual Institute, Winona Lake, Ind., August 9-19.

From 9 to 11 A. M. and from 4 to 5 P. M. daily for eleven days—August 9 to 19—conferences and addresses in the Pavilion on the Island. These are in addition to the addresses in the Assembly Auditorium at the 11 A. M. and 2:30 P. M. hours by the same speakers.

* * * * *

During the week August 9-14 the Institute will be devoted to a consideration of the Mormon kingdom. Thoughtful and well informed people in the United States have come to a realization that Mormonism presents one of

the most important and most imminent problems of our civilization. The rapid advance which the Mormon kingdom has been making in recent years has aroused the deepest feeling of resistance among Christian patriots. The National Reform Association has been conducting a nation-wide crusade against the crimes and treasons of Mormonism and it purposes to continue this work until the Mormon hierarchy shall be brought to a fulfillment of the promises given by them to the government of the United States at the time of their surrender. There is no war upon religion in this Crusade, nor any attack upon the Mormon mass. The conflict is waged against the treason and crime practiced by the rulers of the kingdom.

At last the basic facts of the Mormon institution are being understood in the country at large, due to the vigor with which this crusade has been waged. The Mormon church claims that it is the kingdom of God now and finally established on earth. Either this claim is true or Mormonism is the most outrageous blasphemy and the most dangerous usurpation in the United States. None but Mormons will assume that it is true; and therefore all but Mormons should join in resistance against it.

For our speakers on this subject we have:

James S. Martin, M. A., who as General Superintendent of the Association has been leading the crusade. He has an intimate grasp of the varied aspects of this case and his incisive presentation of the appalling facts always thrills as well as informs his auditors.

Mrs. Francis J. Diefenderfer, who as President of the Order of Anti-Polygamy Crusaders is carrying the fight for the Christian home into every state of the Union. Mrs. Diefenderfer is one of the distinguished women of our nation, dignified, able and appealing. Her influence with and for the womanhood of America is one of our national assets.

Mrs. Sarah Ernest Snyder, who as National Organizer of the Anti-Polygamy Crusaders has enrolled tens of thousands of good women in this cause. As a speaker Mrs. Snyder is unexcelled among women platform orators. She plants her message of Christianity and patriotism in every soul.

John Royal Harris, D.D., who is one of our country's most eminent divines. The exalted logic of his Christian attack upon blasphemous Mormonism is enlivened by an original humor which makes him most rarely effective.

Mrs. H. B. McAfee, who brings out of missionary service in Utah her own original touching story. It has an intimacy that is convincing to her hearers.

Hon. A. D. Gash, attorney at law, who spent many years in the practice of his profession in Utah when it was still a territory. He has kept in thorough touch with the development of Mormon power in our country and he tells, from the viewpoint of the lawyer and the citizen, the infamies of Mormon teaching and practice and the danger of Mormon advances.

In addition to the addresses in the Assembly Auditorium, we will have a daily conference in the National Reform Association's Pavilion on the Island, at which all visitors will be permitted to ask questions, to be answered by our authoritative speakers. There will be a question-box and enlightening discussions.

The expectation is that this week of addresses concerning the Mormon kingdom will be the most notable arraignment of its crimes and treasons that has ever been delivered from any rostrum.

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The second week of the Institute will be devoted to a discussion of the Principles of Christian Civil Government, International Peace, Family Life, Christian Public Education and The Weekly Rest Day. The speakers for this week are Judge W. H. Thomas of the Supreme Court of the State of California; Dr. T. H. Acheson, Editor of the Christian Statesman, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. Henry Collin Minton, President of the National Reform Association, Trenton, N. J.; and Dr. H. L. Bowlby, Executive Secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, New York City. These are not only learned and popular but also intensely practical men. Each is an authority upon the subject he discusses. Opportunity will be given at the close of each address for queries by the auditors.

AUDITORIUM ASSEMBLY ADDRESSES

Monday, August 9

11:00 A. M.—Address, "A National Peril."
Dr. James S. Martin

2:30 P. M.—Address, "Mormonism a Challenge to American Patriotism"
Mrs. Sarah Ernest Snyder

Tuesday, August 10

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Our Duty to Un-American Mormons."
Mrs. H. B. McAfee
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "Sinning Against the Multitude."
Dr. John Royal Harris

Wednesday, August 11

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Mormonism and Christian Womanhood."
Mrs. Sarah Ernest Snyder
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "Mormonism—Un-Christian, Unmoral and Un-American."
Mrs. Frances J. Diefenderfer

Thursday, August 12

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Separation of Church and State."
Dr. John Royal Harris
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "The Menace of Mormonism."
Hon. A. D. Gash

Friday, August 13

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "The Anti-Mormon Crusade."
Mrs. Sarah Ernest Snyder
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "Mormon Articles of Faith Explained and Exposed."
Mrs. H. B. McAfee

Saturday, August 14

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Polygamy, New and Old."
Mrs. Frances J. Diefenderfer
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "America's Greatest Commercial and Political Trust."
Dr. James S. Martin

Monday, August 16

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Our National Christianity."
Dr. James S. Martin
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "The American Home."
Judge W. H. Thomas

Tuesday, August 17

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "National Ethics."
Dr. Henry Collin Minton
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "Our Country a Strategic Battle Ground."
Dr. Thomas H. Acheson

Wednesday, August 18

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Our Marriage and Divorce System."
Judge W. H. Thomas
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "Peace."
Dr. Henry Collin Minton

Thursday, August 19

- 11:00 A. M.—Address, "Religion and Politics."
Dr. Thomas H. Acheson
- 2:30 P. M.—Address, "Putting the Flags Down the Track."
Dr. Harry L. Bowlby

Further information regarding the Institute will be furnished gladly from the office of the National Reform Association, 602-604 Publication Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

ITEMS OF NEWS

The following comes from Rev. Geo. H. L. Beeman, Orrville, Ohio, local Secretary of our Association:

The writer, as local secretary for the National Reform Association, has been talking up the Christian Statesman to his friends lately. I have known the Statesman from boyhood, but it was never—I think—better than now. Its "Outlook" department gives a splendid review of current events, with excellent suggestions as to the duties of Christian citizens and Christian nations with reference to questions connected therewith. The editorials and contributed articles are able, informing and readable. And of course we are glad to read from month to month the reports

concerning the National Reform movement, the crusade against the "Islam of America," and the Bible in the Schools campaign. It is a pleasure to hand out sample copies of the Statesman and other National Reform literature, as we did at the World's Christian Citizenship Conference, the Winona meetings and elsewhere.

And in all our efforts in behalf of the various social reforms we should not forget the great aim of the Association—to promote the principles of Christian civil government and eventually to secure "a constitutional recognition of God as the source of all power, of Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and of the Holy Scriptures as the su-

preme rule"—for the government of nations as of individuals.

The Pennsylvania State Secretary has held very successful meetings and addressed interested audiences in the Bellwood Lutheran church, Huntingdon Presbyterian church, Espyville United Presbyterian church, State Line and Jamestown Methodist Episcopal churches and Toronto, Ohio, United Presbyterian church. The union meeting in Toronto in the evening of the 16th of May was participated in by the Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, Presbyterian, United Presbyterian and Christian churches. The auditorium of the Methodist Episcopal church was well filled with people and much interest was manifested. Arrangements have also been made for Sabbath services for the remainder of the month.

Much interest was manifested in the Convention of the Beaver County Association held the afternoon and evening of May 25. Many prominent citizens together with the ministers of the community co-operated with the State Secretary to make this meeting one of great benefit. The following was the program carried out:

AFTERNOON SESSION

To Preside, Rev. R. P. Andrews,
Ambridge, Pa.

1:30—Devotions - Rev. Matthew F. Smith,
Beaver Falls, Pa.

Announcements.

1:50—Address—"Home Protection,"
Mrs. Ella M. George,
Pres. Penn'a. State Woman's
Christian Temperance Union

2:20—Address—"The Mormon Problem,"
Mrs. Sarah Ernest Snyder,
National Organizer of the
Order of Anti-Polygamy Crusaders.
Round Table—Fundamentals

2:50—The Ultimate Source of Authority, R. M. Downie, Esq.,
Beaver Falls, Pa.

3:20—Christ the King,
Rev. C. F. Campbell, Economy, Pa.

3:30—Civil Law and Divine Law,
Rev. F. Cromer, Rochester, Pa.

3:40—Be Right with God,
Rev. A. P. Bittinger,
Ambridge, Pa.

3:50—Open Parliament

4:10—Question Box, Rev. T. D. McCalmont,
New Galilee, Pa.

4:25—Business.

EVENING SESSION

To Preside, R. J. Manning, Esq.,
Ambridge, Pa.

7:45—Devotions, - Rev. E. P. Harper,
Freedom, Pa.

8:00—Address—"The Civil Sabbath,"
John McNaugher, D.D.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

8:40—Address—"Peace Through the Prince
of Peace," - Dr. J. R. Wylie
State Sec'y of the National
Reform Association.

The convention met in the First Presbyterian church, Ambridge, Pa.

A United Presbyterian minister sends these encouraging words: "The Christian Statesman will do good wherever it goes. It has forward looking ideas along important lines of action. We ought to appreciate such a pathfinder for the governments of earth. Such interpretation of truth as pertains to national government should have a wide hearing. It is the first read magazine that comes to my desk."

Our Michigan State Secretary, Dr. W. J. Wilson, writes that it was his privilege to represent the work of the National Reform Association at the State meeting of the Congregational Churches held in Traverse City, May 18-20. He reports a cordial reception by the leaders of the notable gathering which dealt with the living problems in church and state, which are of vital interest at the present time. Dr. Wilson also reports having addressed large audiences in different towns in the state during the past month on such themes as "The Bible in our Public Education," "The Menace of Mormonism," "The European War," all of which are discussed in the light of the Christian principles of civil government. He says: "I am pushing the work with vigorous determination, resolved to serve faithfully the cause which is growing in favor wherever it is presented intelligently and forcefully."

Dr. James S. McGaw, our General Field Secretary, in writing of the na-

ture and character of his work in California, says: "The various practical issues discussed constitute a means to an end, the Christian amendment. I never give an address on the Bible in the Public Schools but I have the opportunity of taking up the whole issue and I do it. Tens of thousands in California have heard the message for the first time. At the recent World's Congress of Social Service held in San Francisco in connection with the Panama Exposition my theme was 'The Revival of our National Religion and Social Progress.' In this I discussed the whole question in controversy with the nation in its relationship to Christ as King and pointed out specifically the lack in our national constitution and the need for an amendment. This address will be published in the volume, and with the one delivered by Bishop McConnell will furnish the climax for the addresses of the Congress."

A prominent minister of the middle west writes: "For many years I have been receiving and carefully reading the Christian Statesman. I value it as the best magazine I have seen dealing with the politico-religious questions of the day. It is in reality what its name suggests. Those who seek to keep abreast of the reform movements of the times need this magazine."

Rev. George H. L. Beeman, one of our Ohio District Secretaries, writes that he has the annual memorial sermon before the veterans of our wars to deliver May 30th and will take occasion to speak on Christian citizenship and the warfare against moral foes.

Mrs. F. J. Diefenderfer, President of the National order of Anti-Polygamy Crusaders, is spending a few days in and near Pittsburgh during the latter part of May. On May 17 she spoke at a parlor meeting of the members of the Colloquiu Club of Pittsburgh. On the 18th she addressed a union meeting at the Methodist Episcopal church Pitcairn, Pa., arranged by the women of that congregation. Another union

meeting was addressed May 27 in the First United Presbyterian church of Wilkesburg, Pa. She also spoke at the Central church of New Castle, Pa., on May 28 and the Presbyterian church of Leechburg on the 30th.

Former Senator Frank J. Cannon and Dr. James S. Martin returned to Pittsburgh after eight weeks of strenuous campaigning in New York City. Mr. Cannon left at once for his home in Denver and after a brief rest will spend the summer months on a lecture tour through the States of New York, Vermont and New Hampshire. Dr. Martin will spend the next few weeks in Pittsburgh and vicinity. He occupied the pulpit of the Shady Ave. Baptist church of Pittsburgh on the morning of May 23, and the Bellefield Presbyterian church, Pittsburgh on the evening of the same day. On May 30 he addressed the congregation of the Ben Avon United Presbyterian church.

The loyalty of the friends of the Christian Statesman is very much appreciated. To those whose finances are not so limited this letter should make a strong appeal: "I wish I could do generously for you in your good and much needed work but you know what the widow of a superannuated minister has to depend upon. I can't help as I would like but in so many ways I can do little things." Enclosed with this letter was a small contribution toward the work of the Association from this good friend of Los Angeles, California.

In our last issue note was made of the International Lord's Day Congress to be held on the Pacific Coast this summer as being under the direction of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States. It would seem that instead of being held under the auspices of this particular organization it is being arranged for and is to be under the direction of a joint committee representing various Sabbath and other reform organizations. We gladly make this correction.